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Keep Democracy in Perspective!

HAROLD SAXE TUTTLE

College of the City of New York, New York

A worshipper stepped into the church door a moment late for candle-light service. The last two members of the choir were passing immediately in front of him as he entered. Their candles flared. His attention was caught by the flickering light. With his gaze focused on the moving candles close at hand the scene beyond was an ill-defined blur. Not until he changed his focus to the front of the church did he distinctly see the procession of lights, the vested choir moving into its place, the row on row of people on either side of the aisle, the minister standing in reverent mood in the pulpit.

Sight is thus limited—attention thus confined—alike for individual and nation. When we focus on something near us the distant scene is blurred and undefined. When one problem commands our concern other problems recede.

Today our country is engaged in a terrible war. While the fields of battle are far-flung the war, as a fact, is very close to us all. It is in the foreground of attention. We are focusing our vision upon it. The result is inevitable: the future is blurred; the shape of the world we are to live in when war has ceased is indistinct. Yet the war is but a means of saving democracy for the future. All thoughtful writers emphasize that purpose; all patriotic citizens accept it. If we focus our attention on the means and ignore the end we may easily permit the means unwittingly to defeat the end.

The victim of myopia cannot be blamed for his

blurred view of distant objects; but for refusal to change focus and look realistically at future consequences the normal individual must be held responsible. If attention is glued so fixedly on the winning of the war that the preservation of democracy is imperiled then the overthrow of the military enemy is no victory. Lincoln kept his perspective in the face of vitriolic criticism; his central purpose was to preserve the Union. Today every citizen is called upon to concentrate his effort and keep his attention focussed on preserving democracy. The Axis powers have challenged the democratic way. To the degree that war-mindedness is permitted to weaken those practices which undergird democracy the Axis will be victorious. Democracy is endangered not alone by enemy bombs; ignorance and selfishness and prejudice within our midst, even when intended to serve the war effort, may imperil the democracy we love.

The democracy we love! Ah! That is the crucial point. We defend what we love! If we love most our safety and our shores, these we will most valiantly defend. If we love most our greatness and dignity then we shall most resolutely defend our "honor." But if we love most the qualities of living that make our country the land of the free, then we shall be concerned chiefly to defend those rights—the principles which, when taken together, constitute democracy. To love the mere word "democracy" is futile unless we love chiefly the ways of living that blend to produce it.

Of what, then, is democracy composed? What are its ingredients? Too superficial is the common statement that democracy is a form of government in which the people have a voice. Unless democracy is infinitely more than a form of political machinery it will soon lose all semblance of popular rule. To be permanent democracy must be an attitude—or a constellation of attitudes—rather than a political framework, a hierarchy of principles of living.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States are in the nature of a definition of democracy. They are appropriately termed the Bill of Rights. The inalienable rights to which Jefferson referred in the Declaration of Independence are inalienable in the sense that they are indispensable to wholesome, democratic living. When they are withdrawn something vital is gone from life. Several conferences on the preservation of democracy, held in recent years, have made valuable analyses of its components, reporting altogether more than three score elements. Among these let us select but three, in the interest of concrete discussion; three which no one could hesitate to include: (1) respect for personality; (2) the appeal to reason; (3) freedom of thought. These three are chosen, not as the most important, but rather as typical of the whole catalog of ingredients. Each of these three, as of the larger list which they typify, is an inalienable right of every person, a necessary condition of democratic life. Yet each today is being dangerously weakened just when it most needs re-enforcement.

(1) People can live together harmoniously only when they respect one another. Not only do we all need to be held in high esteem by others in order to live satisfying, well adjusted lives, we need also to hold others in high esteem if we are to enter into normal fellowship with them. Democracy is a spirit; it cannot thrive among people who feel no reverence for each other. We prefer to have nothing to do with those for whom we feel no respect. We will not discuss religion or politics with them; we avoid them at the theater and motion picture show. Democracy is possible only where there is interplay of mind and spirit; it cannot thrive without mutuality. Charity is inadequate; pity is undemocratic. Respect for personality is indispensable to democratic fellowship and cooperation.

Yet bigotry and intolerance often prostrate justice and obstruct social fellowship. How strong is our reverence for personality? Some of us hold untenable notions of American superiority. Could German and Japanese people, were they blessed with the same education and environment which we enjoy, be trained eventually to love peace and democracy? To this question, in an extended poll taken not long after the Pearl Harbor attack, only a small

minority responded in the affirmative (29 per cent with reference to the Germans, 11 per cent with reference to the Japanese). If democracy implies any spark of faith in the innate capacities for good in human nature, here is one aspect in which we are pitifully weak and provincial. With such indefensible prejudice toward the people of the countries with which we are at war, what hope is there for peace terms that will inspire a desire for democracy in those countries?

(2) Nor can there be democracy where force is the arbiter of differences. Self-appointed bands of night riders enforcing arbitrary commands, no matter what color their shirts, have no place in a democratic social order. The appeal to reason is an essential principle of cooperative living. There is no place for the fanaticism that meets every disagreement with defiance and anger; there is no place for abuse and vituperation. Nor is there any place for the obstruction of orderly methods of popular government. The spectacle of senators—posing as spokesmen of people who are devoted to the democratic way—filibustering to prevent the franchise in state elections unfettered by the poll tax device, is dismaying to those who believe in the appeal to reason. If democracy is to be preserved reason must be made the final arbiter of disagreements.

Discussions of government policies since the opening of the war have been increasingly marked by bitterness and vituperation. Intelligent judgment has again proved to be the first casualty of war. Calm men have become emotional; friends have become enemies. Even within religious bodies debate has not always been limited to fact and persuasion, as the Christian ethic would prescribe. The appeal to reason is sadly abused in press and radio and forum.

(3) Freedom of thought implies freedom to express thought in speech, in the press, in petition, in worship. The very mood of democracy is that of freedom. To live in constant fear that a word or a sigh, may be noted by secret police is not to live at all in a true sense; certainly such conditions are the very antithesis of democracy. The appeal to reason is impossible where thinking itself is inhibited by fear of persecution. Freedom of thought is effectively prevented where the major beliefs of citizens are stereotypes—second hand ideas formulated by others and imposed by authority, by crowd psychology or by some other form of conditioning, arousing emotion rather than inquiry when challenged.

To the devotee of the liberty of conscience there is little reassurance in the increasingly glaring suppression of speech and press. One speaks at his peril even in support of principles expressly supported by law, as, for example, the right of the conscientious objector. Anonymous threats to min-

isters and editors reflect undemocratic attitudes that are sinister at any time and cruelly dangerous during the hysteria of war. To the patriot who has not carefully analyzed the components of democracy few documents are so replete with food for thought as the files of the *Civil Liberties Quarterly*.

This comment on the nature and precarious state of these typical rights is sufficient to suggest the danger of losing democracy if our vision is focussed on military victory rather than on the total future. The ingredients of democracy—these and all others—are attitudes toward people, not facts to be memorized. They are products of cultivation, not of instruction. Democracy is strong only where its component elements are deeply implanted loyalties.

What can be done? That is the practical question, and a major concern of every patriot. The educator, fortunately, now has his chance to prove the efficacy of education. He has his chance; but he must exercise it. For not always have the schools awakened devotion to the practices that inhere in democracy. Too often the schools have been content to impart information about forms of government and events in history, assuming that by some mysterious process such knowledge would create loyalties. But the results have been disappointing; mere knowledge does not create loyalties. Belief *in* an ideal differs fundamentally from belief *about* an ideal. Beliefs about anything can be implanted by imparting facts; but loyalties can be cultivated only by investing ideas with interest or value. This is the most significant contribution of modern psychology.

With proper associations devotion to any reasonable ideal can be cultivated. "One can be taught new attitudes as surely as he can be taught facts," concluded Thorndike after conducting scores of carefully controlled experiments on that problem. The method must include satisfaction of some sort for the learner. Information and logic do not produce dynamic attitudes. They do not make us hunger and thirst after righteousness. They only enable us more efficiently to get what we already want.

Since democracy is a hierarchy of attitudes the method of creating it is that appropriate to the cultivation of attitudes in any other field, as art and music. The basic principle is to see that vital social experiences are satisfying. There is no substitute. Some sort of satisfaction must be attached to the desired attitude whenever it is expressed or considered. To encourage ideal social choices and then make them glow with approval is the most effective means of building up democratic tendencies. This must be generously supplemented with similar experiences recreated in imagination.

In short, the benefits of the democratic way of life must be experienced both directly and vicariously. Discussions about democracy or its elements

will not develop loyalty. The desired traits must be expressed and found satisfying. To re-enforce the values discovered in democratic group enterprises, and to extend the area of application, a great deal of dramatization of similar choices is needed. This explains the tremendous power of the motion picture. But the school can take advantage of this same principle; it has available, in the story and the drama, means of re-enforcing democratic ideals immeasurably more effectively than it has yet done. The story is valuable, and should be utilized to focus attention more definitely on democratic values. But far and away the most effective and practical means of conditioning attitudes is the play. Its use should be multiplied a hundred fold during this critical period when democracy is thrown out of focus by emphasis on mere victory. Drama, at least on the screen and on the air, is the chief means by which the perspective is being shortened. But the school play can do much to restore a truer perspective. It has the added value that it vitalizes the study of English, it awakens enthusiasm for school life and it quickens the interest of patrons in the school.

If the school is to attempt seriously the building of strong loyalties to essential traits of democracy and to hold these in the focus of attention it must dramatize those traits, not once nor once in a while, but again and again, in terms of innumerable life situations and in every possible form—plays, stories, projects. It is not enough that democratic principles be known and understood: they must be felt! Respect for personality, the appeal to reason, freedom of thought and expression, together with many other inalienable rights, must be appreciated as vital, spiritual forces, making life meaningful, giving the spirit dignity, glorifying human relations!

At a time when devotion to the rights of others is being weakened by hysteria and neglect, dramatizing democratic living should be recognized as more important by far than textbook learning. This is a day when purposes must be kept clearly in view, when means must be selected in the light of their effectiveness rather than on the basis of tradition! Every principle that is to become dynamic must be made vital and meaningful. Gripping plays are needed to stamp into every youthful mind the worth of each ingredient of democracy. They should be as regular a part of school as the flag salute: they will do far more to preserve democracy! In each grade there should be a new cycle adapted to the maturity and social experience of the pupils.

This is not primarily an appeal to use drama more extensively. Incidentally it is that; but only because drama is the most feasible form of conditioning attitudes in school, club and church. The primary appeal is to make democracy live, to cultivate devotion to civic ideals, not merely to impart information about

civic machinery. The laws of learning which control the cultivation of loyalties are most clearly seen and most readily applied in dramatics; but these laws are not limited to plays and stories. They apply even more impressively in first hand experiences, provided wholesome choices are personalized and made highly satisfying. Every group situation in which spontaneous cooperation is possible is a project in democracy. There is literally no limit to the means which any intelligent teacher can devise if only the objective is sufficiently imperative.

When we substitute for methods that merely pro-

duce knowledge about democracy those that vitalize loyalty to democratic practices, the public will be more readily persuaded that education is democracy's best investment. At a time when the war and its victorious consummation—symbolized by the capital V—threaten to shift the focus of the schools from those enduring values for which we are willing to wage a stupendous and sacrificial struggle, the one compelling task of the school is to strengthen devotion to those values—the ideals which we name Democracy!

History and the Teaching of History in the Public Schools

R. W. CORDIER

State Teachers College, Clarion, Pennsylvania

The current interest in the teaching of more American history in the schools stems from the world crisis through which we are passing. We seek, among other things, to protect and preserve our democratic way of living. It is said that we must be wholeheartedly devoted to a cause in order to uphold it effectively. Devotion to a cause rests upon a real understanding of it in its historical perspective. This is particularly true of the cause of American democracy which was born of time, place, and circumstance. Few intelligent citizens or students of history would disagree with this view. Many overlook the fact that the objective of devotion to democracy through understanding is as essential in time of peace and normalcy as it is in time of war and crisis.

It has been found that some of our school and college students are lacking in a knowledge of, or understanding of the history of their country. The ready solution offered by well-intentioned patriots and interest groups is that we teach more American history in the schools. This is equivalent to saying that because a sick man has made some improvement as a result of having taken medicine he should be given more of it in order to bring him to normal health. What he may need most is a changed formula. Or, instead of continuing with injections in the arm, he may need internal applications which would indicate a change in the method of treatment.

Let us consider the existing offerings in American history in the public schools. We shall ignore the large amount of history that students absorb in such related social studies as organized units in the primary grades, geography in the middle and upper elementary grades, civics in the ninth grade, economics, sociology, American government, problems

of democracy in the senior high school, and world history in both the elementary and secondary schools. This may be justified on the score that we seek a reasonable answer for those who insist that we teach more so-called straight American history. Reports from all over the country suggest that courses in American history on the fifth, seventh and eighth, and eleventh grade levels represent common practice. The entire field of American history is treated at each of the three grade levels.

Is a four year triple-cycle of American history adequate? It should be. Dissatisfaction with it and ineffective learning have resulted, in part, from defective organization and treatment of the subject materials. Writers of fifth grade American history textbooks and teachers who have selected materials for the course have presented fifth graders with a general survey of American history. Attempts have been made to present dramatic episodes and character studies. In the main, however, the same outline and the same period or topical emphasis are employed as in the seventh and eighth grade and in the eleventh grade American history courses. The latter differ from the former in that they include more detail and are more fully treated. Little wonder that students become bored with having to discover America three times in the same old way within a span of seven years.

This situation has come about, in part, by the fact that fifth grade histories have been written by one group of authors, seventh and eighth grade histories by another group, and eleventh grade histories by still another group. It has come about, in part, by the fact that teachers have been teaching these courses without an adequate understanding of what

has gone before or of what should follow. Neither group, therefore, has taken sufficient account of a fundamental law of learning. It is that the growing child matures mentally as he progresses from one grade to another.

The solution to this immediate situation seems rather obvious. Publishers and writers of American history texts might coordinate their publications for the three grade levels in terms of the growing maturity of the pupil. To have publications for the three grade levels planned and executed by the same authorship would be highly desirable. This is rarely done.

Another solution to the problem, relating closely to the foregoing, would be to organize and treat American history materials for the various grade levels in terms of a changing and progressive emphasis. For example, an appropriate theme for fifth grade American history would be the occupation and settlement of our country. It should stress how people lived in colonial times and during the recurring and advancing periods of the growth of the nation. The social evolution of our nation should be stressed. Fifth graders can be led to understand this aspect of our heritage.

The American history course for the seventh and eighth grades should pick up the social theme and carry it forward. It should stress, however, the economic growth of our country. In addition to making clear how our people live it may well stress how they have come to make a living. The American history course for the eleventh grade should carry both of these themes forward but stress the political aspect of our heritage.

Social matters are more domestic and institutionally close to the individual. Economic matters are more organizational, complex, and intangible. Political matters smack of the philosophical. Social, economic, and political thinking require advancing stages of mental ability. This is generally true although the writer is aware of the fact that a good case to the contrary may be made under specified circumstances. This solution of the problem regards the advancing maturity of the pupil. Furthermore, it will provide students with a fresh and stimulating approach to the subject at each advancing grade level.

Those who insist that we teach more American history in the schools indicate by implication that we take something out of the school program in order to make room for it. Shall we reduce the time given to English, science, mathematics, music, or art? Let us assume that such a move is not to be desired. The other alternative would be to reduce the time given to world history. To do this raises a very serious question.

It will be remembered that following the First

World War emphasis was placed upon internationalism. We sought, through international understanding and cooperation, to remove the plague of war. Obviously we failed to achieve our goal. The present crisis stresses even more the need for the creation of a world wide socio-economic and political society. Current proclamations give expression to the fact that we are being carried on the tide of time and circumstance toward some form of international cooperation. This being the case we can ill afford to reduce the time given to this important subject. There is ample evidence to support the contention that more time and attention should be devoted to world history.

Prevailing practice indicates a three-year world history program at the fourth, sixth, and tenth grade levels. Some schools still offer a two-year world history course in the ninth and tenth or tenth and eleventh grades. In a majority of cases, however, civics in the ninth grade and problems of democracy in the twelfth grade have forced a compromise in favor of a one-year course in world history in the secondary school.

Assuming that we have reached an irreducible amount of time to be devoted to world history in the schools let us examine the adequacy of the program as it is being administered. General practice indicates that fourth graders are given a simplified version of old world background to fifth grade American history. The course, in many cases, is organized according to a rather rigid chronology, stresses the rise of people, and empires from the Egyptians through the Near East, Greece, and Rome, and ends with a study of medieval life in western Europe. The sixth grade course is organized similarly. It is treated more extensively. But it closes with a study of medieval life thus serving the purpose of an old world background course for the beginning of a study of seventh and eighth grade American history. The tenth grade world history course presents the student with his first and only opportunity to study the modern aspects of world society. This means that millions of Americans have had no opportunity to study the rise of modern nations. Need we wonder at our difficulty as a people to understand other people and nations today?

Tenth grade world history is quite adequately organized and treated. The fourth and sixth grade courses, on the other hand, stand in the need of revision. Many teachers of the fourth grade have found that the traditional organization of world history is much too difficult for young children. It presents a too sudden change from the flexible organization of social elements into working units as found in the primary grades. It would seem desirable, therefore, to make the fourth grade course a simplified introduction to history. Stress should be

placed upon how men learned to improve their ways of living in the long ago, how their ways of living bear upon and differ from our ways of living. Attention should be given to the element of time, the making and keeping of records, and the replacement of dependence upon nature by dependence upon social and community organizations. The course would still serve as an effective background for the study of American history in the fifth grade.

The sixth grade course in old world background may well begin with a systematic review of what was covered in the fourth grade, exercising a more rigid chronology, and abiding more faithfully with the traditional organization of the subject. Its main stress, however, should be upon the modern progress of selected peoples, nations, and areas. The treatment should be a simplified one. It should emphasize the contrasting ways in which people have come to live in the selected areas of the modern world. Thus the course would become a new and more effective type of old world background course. It would serve as a curtain or backdrop against which to rest the study of American history in the seventh and eighth grades. In this way, it would serve to clarify those aspects of our own history which were colored by contemporary attitudes and developments in other areas of the modern world.

The proposal that history teachers be more ade-

quately trained in their subject is very much to the point. This is urgently needed but it overlooks an equally important point when applied to the teachers of elementary and secondary pupils. School principals and supervisors can cite numerous instances in which of two teachers equally well grounded in the subject one may be labeled superior and the other quite inferior. The difference stems from the fact that the former is a master of teaching method, is able to present content or employ it in terms of child experiences and comprehension, whereas, the latter operates on the principle of "here it is, take it or leave it."

Three conclusions are suggested by the foregoing. The first is that we recast the course of study within the limitations of the amount of time now devoted to history. The purposes of such a revision should be to eliminate needless repetition, to relate content with the ascending maturity of children, and to provide for a more effective synthesis of history. Secondly, an attempt should be made by teacher training institutions to give prospective teachers a balanced and thorough knowledge of the subject. Finally, an effort should be made to improve the methods of instruction to the end that children will not only learn their history well but that they will be able to make effective use of it in the business of living.

The Teaching of Geography

JOHN R. CRAF

Stanford University, Stanford University, California

The First World War gave new impetus to a movement which, for two decades previous to the outbreak of that titanic struggle, had been slowly gaining headway. The movement centered about the shifting of the emphasis in the teaching of geography from descriptive and place geography to relational and interpretative geography.

The outbreak of the struggle, begun in 1914, resulted in the development, almost overnight, of new interests in other lands and peoples. Teachers of geography broke away from the old conventional pattern of teaching the subject and maps, slides, globes, and atlases assumed a new and more important aspect as visual aids.

The stereotype approach which had developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth century receded to the background. This approach dating as far back as 1836 and embodied in the principles of Goodrich's *System of Geography* centered about the use at the beginning of the study of a map of the floor plan of the classroom, then of the town, the

county, state, country, continent, and world. This approach continued down through the nineteenth century as the Committee of Ten in 1893 recommended that the study of geography begin with the observation of local land formations and continue by use of maps of the state and nation.

During the years intervening between the First and Second World Wars, the objectives of the teaching of geography as outlined by Moore and Wilcox¹ were:

1. To develop an understanding of man's relation to his natural environment.
2. To develop an abiding interest in the life of man as related to his environment.
3. To give an understanding of the interdependence and responsibilities of peoples all over the world.
4. To bring about an enrichment of social con-

¹*The Teaching of Geography* (American Book Company, 1932), p. 72.

sciousness and a sympathetic understanding of our relation to all mankind.

5. To teach man's chief needs and the available resources for meeting them.

6. To give a knowledge of the problems of commerce and communication that arise in supplying man's needs.

7. To give geographic knowledge pertaining to common daily needs.

8. To develop the ability to use geographic materials such as maps, atlases, globes, books, charts, and graphs.

9. To recognize better ways of utilizing land and natural resources.

10. To emphasize the relationship of scientific developments to commerce, industry, and social welfare.

11. To impart geographic information necessary to the educational equipment of every normal American citizen.

12. To emphasize the human aspects of geography.

13. To give training in discovering some of the world's needs, differentiations as to values, and suggestions of means for meeting needs.

14. To give some understanding of the more important activities in which men engage.

15. To lay a sound foundation for related work at higher levels.

16. To develop an understanding of geographic allusions.

17. To cultivate an interest in present-day affairs which will lead to wider reading.

18. To emphasize the cultural aspects of geography in developing appreciation of natural elements, forces, scenery, customs, and folkway.

19. To develop habits of applying geographic principles in the interpretation of current events.

The Second World War has necessitated in some respects the return to the teaching of place and descriptive geography combined with various aspects of relational geography.

War focuses attention on faraway places. The necessity of cooperation among the United Nations has already taught us the importance of teaching our students that it is essential to understand the customs and habits of other peoples. Tolerance, sympathy, and helpfulness toward our allies in this war has developed and will continue the development of a spirit of international cooperation. Mutual understanding of customs and habits is as essential to the conduct of a successful military campaign as are munitions, ships, and aircraft.

Thousands and thousands of American troops are now on duty in Australia, New Caledonia, North Africa, China, Egypt, Great Britain, Iran, Syria, North Ireland, Iraq, New Zealand, India, and many

other countries and provinces. To ease the way of troops, to assure against offense to civilian and military personnel of foreign lands, and to inform the soldier of the government and customs of the people of the country to which he is assigned, the War Department has inaugurated a series of guides. The guides prepared by the Special Services Division of the Army Service Forces are distributed to members of the American forces upon departure at a port of embarkation. These publications are approximately $4\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches and are from forty to seventy pages in length. The contents include language, currency, weights and measures, customs, manners, useful words and phrases, and important "do's and don't's."

The campaigns in Malaya, Burma, North Africa, and in the Southwest Pacific have already proved that the cooperation of the population is essential to the successful conduct of a war. At Oran, Rabat, Casablanca, and Mogador, friendly Arabs rendered invaluable assistance to the allies in unloading supplies; at Port Moresby and over the Owen Stanley mountain range in New Guinea, natives have hauled supplies toward the fighting front and have evacuated American and Australian wounded.

At Malacca and at Singapore in Malay and at Rangoon, Akyab, and Mandalay in Burma the lack of cooperation of civilian populations and in many instances the work of fifth columnists contributed materially to the failure of the military campaigns.

Now let us consider the role of the school in wartime. As all able-bodied young men, with a few exceptions, will enter the armed forces at the age of eighteen and as many will serve overseas, we should:

1. Encourage all students to study geography.
2. Teach place and descriptive geography.
3. Teach the customs and habits of peoples of other lands.
4. Make extensive use of visual aids such as maps, charts, slides, films, and atlases.
5. Correlate geography and current events whenever possible.

By so doing, teachers will accomplish several important purposes:

1. Students will better understand faraway lands and places.
2. Young men who will enter the armed forces will be better prepared for the tasks ahead.
3. By understanding geography, students will more readily comprehend the extent and ramifications of the present global war and more readily understand the principles for which we are fighting.
4. A knowledge of the habits and customs of the inhabitants of other lands which increase the spirit of international cooperation and goodwill both now and during the years after the war.
5. An understanding of the mutual interdependence and responsibilities of all races will be de-

veloped.

6. Students will learn the availability of world resources and much concerning the problems of transportation and communication.

7. We will all be less critical of others for by learning about the peoples of other lands we inculcate respect, goodwill, and patience and lay a basis for joint cooperation and mutual assistance.

Geography can be made an exceedingly interesting subject. One of the most natural of all stimuli among young people is curiosity and geography offers unending opportunities by delving into unknown, unfamiliar, and strange things. The pupil, however, must be carefully guided.

When people of other lands have customs or habits which are unfamiliar to us we are prone to consider them "queer" or "unusual" and make them an object of contempt. Such customs instead of becoming targets of ridicule must be studied sympathetically rather than critically and must be considered in the light of reasonableness and expediency. Backward people—those who live in countries which have not progressed in civilized ways as rapidly as we have—should not be considered ignorant or ignoble. Rather if an unbiased approach is taken, extenuating circumstances which militated against progress will often be apparent. In the tropics for example extremely high temperatures during midday cause people to be less energetic and industrious than those who live and work in more temperate zones.

Likewise in many parts of the world where transportation and communication facilities are limited, people will not have developed an industrial or com-

mercial entrepreneurial system which equals in any respect that of the United States or Great Britain; yet these people possess a high degree of culture and intelligence but are satisfied with a less complex civilization.

In the past, Americans have too readily accepted and built up false and erroneous conceptions of inhabitants of other countries by contact with a few non-typical representatives. This has been true of the citizens of other nations as well. Americans cannot understand why the British call the aisle of a theater a gangway or oatmeal, porridge. British people likewise do not understand why New York has so many skyscrapers or why people who reside in our large centers of population always seem to be in a hurry.

The Second World War has already broken down the spirit of isolation which became increasingly strong during the last two decades. The time is past when the inhabitants and citizens of one nation can completely ignore the likes and dislikes of the inhabitants and citizens of other nations. Only by mutual understanding and cooperation can a firm foundation for future understanding, goodwill, trust, and cooperation be erected.

The teacher of geography can accomplish much by "breaking the ice," eliminating the idea of isolationism and fostering a spirit of international cooperation and goodwill. It has already been indicated that not only must our students be taught place geography but by teaching relational and interpretative geography we build for the future as well as the present.

Revised Historical Viewpoints

RALPH B. GUINNESS

Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, New York

THE MYTH OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY¹

Andrew Jackson rode to the presidency on a wave of popular enthusiasm largely engendered by his military record. He was elected by a popular following whose democratic aspirations and ideals he never espoused or championed. Such popular support, although misguided, had its roots in early Tennessee history.

The voters in Tennessee formed a state without knowing the purposes of their leaders. On the frontier they saw no class distinctions or ambitions in their leaders who were military men, legislators,

well-to-do, and land-grabbers at their expense. They elected delegates to their 1796 Constitutional Convention, which, through a committee of which Andrew Jackson was a member, drew up a liberal constitution, except for two provisions inimical to the interests of the common man. One was that justices of the peace be chosen by the general assembly for life, and such justices, with few exceptions, should choose the other county officials. The second adverse part provided that all acreage should be taxed at the same rate, regardless of value.

There was much social and economic democracy on the frontier in 1796-1812 made up as it was chiefly of small farmers, who practiced a simple self-sufficient home economy, producing their household needs and living without much use of money.

¹ Thomas P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (October 1927), 64-77.

Class distinctions grew after 1812 as the war, steamboating, cotton expansion, plus the money brought in by the purchase there of war supplies, effected a mild commercial revolution. This resulted in increased purchasing power, luxuries and trade. Moccasins gave way to shoes, and log cabins to brick and frame houses. Increased migration, partly due to soil exhaustion in the South Atlantic states, facilitated these economic changes. The West financed itself through paper money, the use of which increased after specie payments were suspended in 1814 by the banks south of New England. In 1817 the Second Bank of the United States was chartered with the expectation of limiting the paper money of state banks. To forestall this, Tennessee passed a law to prevent the establishment of its branches by a \$50,000 tax on such proposals. The small farmers favored this, but they were opposed by Felix Grundy supported by William Carroll and Andrew Jackson. Thus Jackson showed his opposition to the growing "democracy," and revealed a lack of scruples against a bank he was later to destroy.

The panic of 1819 severely affected speculation and cotton interests in Middle Tennessee, the heart of its cotton belt at that time. Cotton was Jackson's chief crop at the Hermitage. High prices for cotton in 1815-1819 led to great expansion and thus, when prices fell as the panic of 1819 came, many thousands of farmers were ruined. They demanded legislative relief which Felix Grundy championed. He piloted through the legislature the passage of a law for a loan office to furnish capital for the farmers. A "stay" law estopped for two years the forcible collection of debts by any creditor who refused to receive notes issued by the loan office or state banks. These measures were opposed chiefly by Edward Ward and Andrew Jackson. A memorial of theirs to the legislature attacked these measures as violating a federal constitutional provision for payment in gold and silver.

This opposition by Jackson to the interests of the common man is further seen in the Tennessee gubernatorial campaign of 1821. Jackson supported Edward Ward who was opposed by William Carroll. The latter and Jackson, friends at one time, had broken in 1816 for some reasons which remain obscure. In the campaign Carroll was hailed as a man of the people, while Ward, a wealthy man and slave owner, was pictured as a representative of the aristocracy of planters. Both candidates opposed the loan office law. Ward advocated a centralized state banking system instead, while Carroll favored retrenchment. Farmers favored the latter's policies as they had learned that they could not borrow from banks at six per cent when their profits did not often run above five per cent. Carroll carried every county in the state but two. Except for a one-term intermis-

sion, constitutionally required, he was re-elected continuously until 1835. He advocated many reforms most of which were adopted by 1835. Thus in 1831 the erection of a penitentiary, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the ending of the whipping post, the pillory and the branding by iron, became accomplished reforms of Carroll. Under him state public lands were put on a cash basis in 1823 and prices graduated according to principles later advocated by Benton in Congress. In 1834 a new Constitution was adopted which provided judicial reform for the collection of debt, for popular election of county officials, and for taxation of real estate according to value. Thus Abernethy declares these reforms show that Carroll established "Jacksonian Democracy" in Tennessee. However, that even he was much of a democrat seems doubtful since he brought about the repeal of the very agrarian legislation which Jackson had opposed, namely the "stay" law, the loan office, and the tax on the branch banking business of the Second Bank of the United States. But Jackson triumphed over the small farmers through an opponent, ostensibly a people's champion.

Whatever the democratic nature of Carroll's reforms, Jackson had little to do with the development of democratic aspirations in the West. Abernethy does not detail his land-speculation, merely mentioning it in passing, nor does he advance his slaveholding interests as evidence of a lack of "Jacksonian Democracy." However, Jackson did use the votes of the western common man to become President. The boom for his candidacy was begun by Nashville friends in 1821 after his retirement from the governorship of Florida. The leaders of this group were William B. Lewis, planter and neighbor of Jackson; John Overton, one of the richest men in the state, and at that time partner with Jackson in a large land deal resulting in the establishment of Memphis; and John H. Eaton, one of Tennessee's federal Senators. Overton and Eaton were attacked as former Federalists. Thus the group was not connected with the democratic movement. Jackson at this time was interested in a legal scheme to throw open to question the titles to about one-half of the occupied lands in Tennessee in the interests of speculators like himself.

Jackson's political views were little known outside of Tennessee at the time when his presidential ambitions were fostered to oust the Virginian dynasty and to prevent the succession of Crawford, the "heir apparent" of whom Jackson was a bitter opponent. The dissatisfied Southern and Middle States turned to Jackson whose strength lay in his military reputation, his role as a western expansionist in opposition to the Spanish and the Indians, and his lack of connection with Washington intrigue and politics.

The presidential boom was launched in Pennsylvania in 1821 where the leaders canvassed the situation and found him the logical leader. Friends in North Carolina and Virginia did a similar service. In Tennessee, in 1822, it was proposed that the General Assembly present his name to the nation. It carried without a dissenting vote even though his gubernatorial candidate had been defeated the previous year. In 1823, feeling that Jackson's prestige for the presidency would be blighted by the election as Senator of John Williams, a personal enemy of Jackson, he was induced by friends to oppose him. Jackson was elected by a vote of 35-25.

In the Senate he voted for the tariff of 1824 and voted consistently for internal improvements, although he felt that the consent of the state should be given before the national government give any assistance. As President he vetoed the Maysville Road Bill on the ground that it was only of local importance; however, it was the main highway to Nashville and the Southwest. As for the tariff he said it was important for domestic manufactures and for the development of a home market for agricultural products, which would benefit the grain growers who outnumbered the cotton planters of whom Jackson was a leading one.

Not until 1827 did he begin making unfavorable comments on the Second United States Bank. Apparently his later opposition arose from advice given by Van Buren and the fact that his opponents, who controlled some of the branches of the bank, used their influence against him in the election of 1828. There was no economic motive to bring him into opposition to the bank as he had long been a believer in sound currency and the rights of the creditor.

There is no record before 1828 of any help to any movement for the amelioration of the conditions of the masses. In fact, as noted above, he opposed the Tennessee loan office and the "stay" laws designed to aid the Tennessee farmers. However, he held the loyalty of the small farmers on account of his military reputation and backwood's connections, and to the farmers, his opposition to the centralized Second Bank looked like democracy.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES IN NEW ENGLAND²

James Truslow Adams found that books and

² James Truslow Adams, "Disfranchisement of Negroes in New England," *American Historical Review*, XXX (April 1925), 543-547.

articles on the disfranchisement of Negroes in New England were inadequate and misleading. Various writers, among them Jones, Mowry, Weeks, A. B. Hart, Olbrich, and Porter, either made errors in regard to the date of the restrictions of the franchise on Negroes in Connecticut or failed to state that Rhode Island also made restrictions. All were correct however, in declaring that there were no such restrictions in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. As the Negro was not a factor in the early politics of these three states, they made no distinction of color in the qualifications for the franchise; nor did they do so subsequently.

In Massachusetts, in 1813, the Negro vote must have been important as the Federalists were charged with bribing a Negro leader, Prince, a Democratic Republican, to get the votes for the former party. In Connecticut, in 1814, the legislature provided that no one could be a freeman in any town unless he were white. A proposed constitutional amendment in 1818 provided that only white males could be freemen. This was passed in convention by a vote of 103-72, renewed in 1845, and it was not until the amendment of 1876 that the word "white" was dropped. In 1819 the Maine Constitutional Convention considered, but defeated a provision to exclude Negroes from the suffrage.

In Rhode Island, in 1822, a law provided that only whites could be freemen, i.e., voters. The Constitution of 1824 rejected by the voters, likewise limited suffrage to the whites. Amendments in 1836 and 1840 to the suffrage provisions of the Constitution retained the provision for white suffrage only. An amendment in 1841 to the election law also retained the exclusion. In 1842, during the Dorr Rebellion there were two constitutional conventions, one legal, convened by the legislature, and the other, "illegal," called by the "Suffrage Party." Although the latter authorized Negroes to participate as delegates along with foreigners and native whites, its constitution retained the franchise for whites only, as did that of the legal convention. The latter's constitution was at first defeated. However, a few weeks later a second new constitution containing no restrictions against the Negro was ratified by the property-owning voting class. A contemporary comment declared this to be a manoeuvre of the aristocratic minority to secure the loyalty of their Negro coachmen and domestics in the face of the rebellion of the propertyless non-voting whites. Thus it was evident that the Negro in Rhode Island was disfranchised until the last days of the Dorr Rebellion.

To California By Sea¹

ASA E. MARTIN

Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania

The acquisition of California by the United States at the close of the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in the Sierras east of Sacramento in January of 1848 led to the speedy exploitation of the gold deposits and the rapid settlement of the vast new territory. As stories of its fabulous wealth and invigorating climate reached the outer world, the footloose from the four corners of the earth converged on the New Eldorado. This mammoth migration, which came to be characterized as the "Gold Rush," did not spend itself until two full decades had elapsed. Thus the population of the region grew from a few thousand in 1848 to nearly 100,000 in 1850, to 379,994 in 1860, and to 560,247 in 1870.

The majority of the gold seekers, especially those from the Mississippi Valley, journeyed to California by one of the various overland trails across the expanse of wild, uninhabited territory some two thousand miles in width. The remainder went by sea over several available routes. Of these, the first was the all-water route around Cape Horn, a distance of more than 14,000 miles from the Atlantic seaboard, which required from six to nine months' time and cost, during the fifties, from \$300 to \$600 one way. This, however, was too long and too expensive a voyage for more than a small portion of the travelers. Nevertheless, during the early stages of the rush, many ships were chartered for a one-way trip over this course by organized companies of emigrants; and numerous tramp steamers entered the service temporarily to capitalize on the enormous demand for both passenger and cargo transportation. This route, naturally, had a special appeal to New Englanders with their maritime traditions.

By the other sea routes passengers sailed from Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States to one of three points on the coast of Mexico and Central America, where they landed to cross the isthmus and proceed in vessels plying up and down the Pacific coast. The northernmost of these crossings was made in Mexico by way of the old Spanish trail from Vera Cruz to Acapulco, a distance of about 400 miles. Because of the difficulties of this overland journey and the unsettled conditions in Mexico, a relatively small percentage of the immigrants to California went this way.

The second route, that across Nicaragua, necessitating travel by river, lake, and land for nearly 200 miles from Greytown on the Gulf of Mexico to San Juan del Sur on the Pacific, attracted far more travelers than the one through Mexico. In this case also the hardships and the dangers militated against its becoming a main artery between the West and the East.

The third was by far the most important of all the sea routes to California and is the one with which this paper is largely concerned. This involved crossing the Isthmus of Panama near the present location of the Panama Canal. Although the whole journey was nearly 1,000 miles longer than that by way of Nicaragua, the distance separating the two great oceans was less than seventy-five miles, much of which was traversed in river boats.

During the years of the gold rush, steamships on both the Atlantic and the Pacific made fairly regular stops at the terminals of these three routes. At first, the time required to make the journey from New York to San Francisco ranged from twenty-six to thirty days; but before the end of the fifties, this was reduced to from twenty-one to twenty-five.

Prior to 1849, there was no regular passenger steamship business between the Atlantic and the Pacific ports of the territory embraced within the limits of the present United States. Those who wished to make the voyage to California from the Atlantic seaboard took passage on any fishing or trading ships bound for the Pacific. Then, in order to reach a specific destination, one was often forced to spend long periods of time in out of the way places awaiting passage on a ship plying the desired course. Since the Hawaiian Islands, some 2,000 miles southwest of California, were a supply point for the entire eastern Pacific area, most vessels regardless of their destinations put in there. Thus passengers journeying to California or Oregon frequently found themselves in these distant islands. The experience of John Sutter is typical of hundreds and hundreds of cases. In 1839, he began the overland journey to California from Independence, Missouri. Because of the difficulties of travel by the more direct route, he followed the course of fur traders and trappers to the mouth of the Columbia river in Oregon. There, unable to obtain transportation down the coast, he engaged passage to the Hawaiian Islands, where he hoped to find a ship bound for California. After considerable delay on the Islands, however, he sailed to Alaska, where the Russian Fur Company had a large station, and

¹An article by the same author entitled "All Aboard the Overland Stage," which described transportation by land from the Mississippi Valley to California during the gold rush, appeared in THE SOCIAL STUDIES, XXXII (February, 1941), 57-65. (Ed.)

whence he finally sailed down the Pacific coast to San Francisco Bay, his original destination. A similar case was that of Jason Lee, a Methodist missionary in Oregon, who returned to New York by way of the Hawaiian Islands and Cape Horn in 1839-1840.

It is difficult today to visualize how far away the west coast of America was before the days of the gold rush. As a matter of fact, the ports of China were in more frequent communication with Europe and New York than those of California and Oregon. Much of the comparatively small cargo trade went around South America by way of Cape Horn. There was no regular service across the Isthmus except for a few muleteers who furnished intermittent transportation of merchandise and passengers over one or another of the old Spanish trails, especially that across the Isthmus of Panama, which had once been the world's most lucrative trade route.

The conquest of California by the United States and the subsequent discovery of gold, however, created a sudden demand for regular and swift transportation to the new country. The volume of this service is indicated by the facts that during each of the gold rush years of 1849 and 1850 between 30,000 and 40,000 people journeyed to California by sea, and that from 1849 to 1857 inclusive the total number was 381,107 passengers, while those returning to the East numbered 139,000.

The development of a system of regular service by sea between the Atlantic and the Pacific ports of the United States was greatly stimulated by mail subsidies. As a matter of fact, at the time of the settlement of the Oregon question in 1846, President Polk stated in a message to Congress that it was a matter of the greatest importance "that mail facilities, so indispensable for the diffusion of information, and for binding together the different portions of our extended Confederacy, should be afforded to our citizens west of the Rocky Mountains." Consequently, the following March, in response to a presidential recommendation Congress authorized a subsidy of \$100,000 for the transportation of mail from Charleston, South Carolina, to Astoria, Oregon, by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Because of the inadequacy of the subsidy, however, and the stipulation for semi-monthly service in each direction, the Postmaster General received no bids for the undertaking.

Another act passed during the same month met with greater success. This authorized the Secretary of the Navy, among other things, to contract for a monthly mail service between New York, Charleston, Savannah, and Havana on the Atlantic and San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco on the Pacific. Soon a ten-year contract was granted to Arnold Harris, who reassigned it to William H. Aspinwall, later a powerful figure in the Latin American and

Pacific transportation business. The annual subsidy in this case was \$199,000.

In 1851 Congress authorized semi-monthly service and increased the annual compensation to \$348,250 for the remainder of the period of the ten-year contract. At the same time, it made a contract with the Panama Railway Company, then engaged in the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus, for the carrying of mail across the Isthmus at the rate of twenty-two cents a pound. These mail subsidies were altered from time to time until 1859, when they approached the \$1,000,000 mark, only about half of which were returned to the government in postage receipts.

Simultaneously, with the opening of the West, of course, the volume of mail increased tremendously. In the single year of 1859, 2,000,000 letters and 4,000,000 newspapers reached California by sea alone. During this period, the postal rates for a single letter to the Pacific coast, which had been fixed at forty cents in 1847, was reduced to six cents in 1851 and was advanced again to ten cents in 1855. There it remained until 1863, when a uniform postage rate was established for the whole country.

Meanwhile, also, the demand for freight, passenger, and mail service to and from the Pacific stimulated an unprecedented development of facilities both by land and by sea. As has been stated, William H. Aspinwall and a group of associates as early as 1847 organized the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which dispatched immediately three vessels to the Pacific—the *California*, the *Oregon*, and the *Panama*—each with a tonnage slightly in excess of 1,000. In 1855 the operations of this company were restricted to the Pacific. Ten years later, its business had grown to such proportions that it was accorded a place among the greatest shipping companies in the world. Because of its ruthless competitive policies and monopolistic tendencies, however, it was subjected to violent criticism both in and out of Congress.

While the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was enlarging and consolidating its power on the Pacific coast, a similar development was taking place in the Atlantic sea lanes leading to the Isthmus of Panama with the United States Steamship Company carrying the major share of the traffic.

All the vessels engaged in the California trade were designed for both freight and passenger service. Most of them were steam propelled side-wheelers with three or four decks, equipped with small masts with sails for use in emergencies. The larger vessels employed a crew of from 70 to 100 persons and carried from 300 to 1,500 passengers. They sailed an average of from 200 to 250 miles every twenty-four hours. In the absence of refrigeration each vessel carried its own supply of live chickens, turkeys, geese,

ducks, sheep, hogs, and cattle for slaughter for food as needed.

On the Atlantic end of the sea route to California passengers bound for Panama embarked at New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. Often ships from New Orleans met those from other Atlantic ports at Havana and combined their passengers and cargoes for the remainder of the journey. The distance from New York to Panama was about 2,000 miles; and the sailing time, from seven to nine days. Following this trip and the journey across the Isthmus, the voyage of 3,000 miles up the coast to San Francisco remained to be made. This required about fourteen or fifteen days.

The journals and diaries of those who took this route indicate that this latter portion of the journey was far less eventful, that the sea was more placid, that the ships were more modern and commodious, and that conditions in general were more conducive to health and comfort than was the case from New York to Panama. The monotony of the long voyage was broken by stops at such ports as Acapulco, San Diego, and Monterey. Though some passenger and freight business was transacted in each of these ports, the main objective was the obtaining of fresh supplies of food for the passengers and crews and fuel for the ships. At Acapulco, in particular, coal brought from England—since no coal was mined on the west coast—was taken on board. Of the trip from San Francisco to Panama in 1865, Samuel Bowles, a distinguished author and newspaper editor, recorded his observations in his book, *Across the Continent*, in these words:

There is rarely any rough sea in this part of the trip; for most of the way, the steamer keeps in sight of the land; . . . and so we kept company with rocks and mountain and verdure for at least eleven of the fourteen days. . . . Indeed, it is steamboating instead of steamshipping, on the Pacific side; and the boats . . . are up to four thousand tons in capacity and four hundred feet in length. . . .

Prior to the completion of the Panama railroad in 1855, the most difficult part of the journey to California was that across the Isthmus of Panama or, for the relatively few who chose the shorter route, that across Nicaragua. The number of people who used the Panamanian route during the gold rush is almost incredible. They began the transit at the mouth of the Chagres river, went up stream in native boats to Gorgona or Cruces, and then rode mules over the old Spanish road to Panama. Sometimes in one week as many as three or four thousand people would cross, going and coming. Needless to say, accommodations for such a horde of immigrants as this were inadequate. Consequently, the hardships suffered were appalling, and the death toll was enormous.

Those who undertook this trip were advised to provide themselves with provisions such as "hams, smoked tongue, sausages, pickles, good coffee, and their accustomed drinks; a good blanket; if in the rainy season, a light India-rubber overcoat and leggings; also an umbrella."

Bayard Taylor, who made the passage in 1849, recounted his experiences in his book *Eldorado or Adventures in the Path of Empire*, published in 1867, in these words:

Piling up our luggage on the shore [at Chagres], each one set about searching for the canoes which had been engaged the night previous, but, without a single exception, the natives were not to be found, or when found had broken their bargains. Everyone ran hither and thither in general excitement, anxious to be off before anybody else, and hurrying the naked boatmen, all to no purpose. . . . Having started without breakfast, I went to the Crescent City Hotel, a hut with a floor to it, but could get nothing. Some of my friends had fared better at one of the native huts, and I sat down to the remains of their meal, which was spread on a hen coop beside the door. The pigs of the vicinity and several lean dogs surrounded me to offer their services, but maintained a respectful silence, which is more than could be said of pigs at home. . . .

After the completion of his breakfast he with a companion succeeded, after much difficulty, in obtaining a canoe for Cruces, for which they were forced to pay \$15.00. The next night he spent in the bamboo village of Gatun. After supper, according to the same narrative, the author was pestered with fleas. In the course of time, the owner of the hut where he had engaged lodging "swung" his hammock, and he "turned in to secure it for the night. To lie there was one thing, to sleep another," for:

A dozen natives crowded round the table, drinking their aguardiente and disputing vehemently; the cooking fire was on one side of me, and everyone that passed to and fro was sure to give me a thump, while my weight swung the hammock so low that all the dogs on the premises were constantly rubbing their backs under me. I was just sinking into a doze, when my head was so violently agitated that I started up in some alarm. It was but a quarrel about payment between Senora and the boatman, standing on either side. From their angry gestures, my own head and not the reckoning, seemed the subject of contention.

The next night he was at Pena Blanca, where he slept in the loft of a hut in the midst of a native family and six other travelers. At Cruces he secured

a horse for \$10.00 for the remainder of the journey; and after five arduous days, he arrived at Panama on the Pacific side of the Isthmus. Regardless of the hardships of the trip, he was tremendously impressed with the tropical foliage which he encountered everywhere. He declared:

There is nothing in the world comparable to these forests. No description that I have ever read conveys an idea of the splendid overplus of vegetable life within the tropics. The river, broad and with a swift current of the sweetest water I ever drank, winds between walls of foliage that arise from its very surface. All the gorgeous growths of the eternal summer are so mingled in one impenetrable mass, that the eye is bewildered. From the rank jungle of canes and gigantic lilies, and the thicket of strange shrubs that line the water, rise the trunks of mango, the ceiba, the cocoa, the sycamore and the superb palm. . . . Blossoms of crimson, purple and yellow, of a form and magnitude unknown in the North, are mingled with the leaves, and flocks of paraquets and brilliant butterflies circle through the air like blossoms blown away. Sometimes a spike of scarlet flowers is thrust forth like the tongue of a serpent from the heart of some convolution of unfolding leaves, and often the creepers and parasites drop trails and streamers of fragrance from boughs that shoot half-way across the river. Every turn of the stream only disclosed another and more magnificent vista of leaf, bough, and blossom. All outline of the landscape is lost under their deluge of vegetation.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, another who crossed the Isthmus, gives a vivid account of that portion of his journey in 1852 in his monumental history of the Pacific coast states. He wrote:

There were no wagon roads across the Isthmus and the trail from Gorgona, though not so broken as that from Cruces, was rough in the extreme, and led through a greatly diversified country. Two miles brought us across the table land, when we entered a dense forest, from which the sun was wholly excluded by the overhanging branches. Thence we followed the path successively over soft, uneven ground, through shady canyons, and mountain chasms murky in their gloomy solitude, up and round precipitous hillsides cut by travel into steps and stairs, on which and into well-worn holes the careful and sagacious animal placed his foot tenderly, knowing that the inch or two on the wrong side of it would send him sliding down the steep slope. Now we would be under a canopy of creepers trellised with palms, now winding through a valley of impervious under-

growth, rustling with serpents, insects, and birds, and then out into the broad, open burning plains, crossing turbid streams and mountain rills, wading some filthy morass, rounding rocky cliffs, and exposed alternately to sun and rain. Descending with slow and cautious step the steep declivities from the little spot of tableland round Gorgona, then ascending and descending again and again until *tierra caliente* is reached, the scenery is very changing, now captivating with its beauty, and now thrilling with its magnificence. Often we passed through ravines which had been washed out by the rain, and so narrow at the bottom that on entering at either end persons must shout in order to notify others wishing to come from the opposite direction. . . . Some of these gullies have been worn down thirty feet and more by centuries of travel, and are now so narrow at the bottom that a loaded mule can barely get through. Often when travelers met, one would have to turn back; and again, when caught in tight places, horsemen would draw up their legs, and so let the animals squeeze past each other, when this could be done. All along the way crosses marked the resting-places of those overtaken by fever or assassination, while the murderer himself found an unsanctified sepulchre beneath a pile of stones at the crossroads.

Of the small town now called Colon on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, where the construction of the Panama Railway had begun the previous year, Bancroft said:

Probably there is not in all the world where man dwells a more loathsome spot than this town of Aspinwall, with its hybrid population and streets of intersecting stagnant pools. A bed of slime and decaying vegetation reeking pestilence, alive with crawling reptiles, given over by nature to the vilest of her creations, man for money makes a place . . . to live in, or rather to die in, for premature death is plainly written on the face of every European inhabitant. Travel the world over and in every place you find something better than is found in any other place. . . . The very ground on which one trod was pregnated with disease, and death was distilled in every breath of air.

Somewhat similar conditions prevailed throughout the course of the route across the Isthmus. The hardships of the journey were largely eliminated, however, by the construction of the Panama Railroad. Although this project had been under consideration for many years, not until 1846 was permission given to build it by Columbia or were funds made available for the undertaking. Under the direction of William H. Aspinwall, Henry Chauncey, John L. Stevens, and

others, construction was started in 1850 and rushed to completion in 1855. The length of this railroad was forty-seven miles, and its original cost was \$7,000,000. Because of the difficulties encountered in penetrating the tropical jungle, this was regarded as one of the world's greatest engineering feats and a "striking example of American energy and perseverance."

From the beginning this railroad proved to be successful far beyond all expectations. During the first four years, it carried 121,820 passengers and was taxed to the limit by the freight business. Large dividends were paid on the stock, which rose in value to \$350 a share. Regardless of the volume of the business, however, the one-way first class passenger fare remained for more than a decade at \$25 or approximately fifty cents a mile. Nevertheless, people gladly paid this exorbitant price because they thus cut off four days from the time required to cross the Isthmus and consequently, to reach California.

Of even greater significance than the matter of time was the reduction of the hazards to health, which had taken a heavy toll of life. Almost without exception the diaries of those who made the trip contain many references to tropical diseases, especially Panama or yellow fever, severe sickness, and frequent deaths. Indeed, few appear to have traveled without great discomfort and more or less illness. The coming of the railroad, however, removed many of the physical hardships.

During the early stages of the gold rush, passenger service to California by sea was both poorly organized and woefully inadequate. Nevertheless, sailings were advertised in glowing terms throughout the East. For instance, George W. Aspinwall inserted the following sailing notice in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, January 29, 1849:

For San Francisco, California—Direct. To sail on the 10th of February. The fine coppered and spacious ship *Levant*. Capt. Moses Hoyt, will sail from this port as above. This ship cannot be surpassed in her arrangements and accommodations for passengers, and offers superior inducements of comfort and safety to parties and individuals. She will positively sail as above, and take steam down the Delaware.

On March 22 of the same year, the *Ledger* carried an advertisement of "The newly coppered and remarkably fast sailing" barque *Warwick*, which, it emphasized, would "sail positively on the first of April."

By the time of the completion of the Panama Railroad in 1855, ship service on both oceans had become standardized to a large extent and had been greatly improved. The vessels were larger and more commodious and gave infinitely more attention to the comfort of passengers than in the early days. As

has been indicated, the bulk of the traffic crossed the Isthmus of Panama and was handled, for the most part, by two large companies, which operated bi-monthly schedules. Nevertheless, some competing lines remained. More or less travel proceeded regularly by way of Nicaragua, and a few vessels continued to make the journey around Cape Horn.

The character of the service advertised by one of the consolidated lines, the United States Mail Steamship Company, may be gleaned from the following notice inserted by it in the *New York Daily Tribune*, September 29, 1856:

Greatly Reduced Prices. Oct. 6.—U. S. Mail Line.—Fifty pounds of baggage free; 10 cents per pound on excess. Four hours ocean to ocean, by Panama Railroad. Through for California via Panama Railroad. The United States Mail Steamship Company will dispatch for Aspinwall on Monday, Oct. 6 at two o'clock P.M. positively, . . . the well known and fast Steamship *Illinois*, Capt. Charles S. Boggs, U.S.N. Passengers and mail will be forwarded by Panama Railroad and connect at Panama with the Pacific Steamship Co.'s magnificent Steamship *Sonora*, . . . which will be in readiness and leave immediately for San Francisco.

The Public are informed that the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. always have one or more extra Steamships lying at Panama ready for sea, to avoid any possible detention of passengers or mail.

One way passenger fare had averaged from \$300 to \$350 by the Panama route until about 1855, when competition forced a temporary reduction. Within a few years, however, prices were back again to their former level with quotations running—first class \$350, second class \$250, and steerage \$125.

The competitive nature of the business is indicated in two advertisements in the *New York Daily Tribune* on November 3, 1856. One began as follows:

For California
New York and San Francisco Steamship Line
via
Nicaragua
Shortest route by 700 miles.
Great reduction in prices.
The new and splendid Steamship
Texas
1800 tons

It concluded by assuring prospective passengers that this was the "healthiest and cheapest" route and by listing the fares as \$175 for first cabin, \$125 for second cabin, and \$75 for steerage. In the same issue, The United States Mail Steamship Company claimed that it was the "*Only Line with Sure Connections*," that the transit across the Isthmus of Panama

was shorter by 160 miles "than any other Route" and that it was free from "exposure to River Navigation."

Regardless of the glowing accounts of "splendid" ships and elaborate "accommodations" circulated by the ship companies, however, the passengers tell quite a different story. During the gold rush and the early fifties in particular, they are surprisingly unanimous in their criticism of the service on a variety of counts, such as congestion, poor food, and lack of sanitation.

Among these, Hubert Howe Bancroft, already quoted, gives a vivid picture of conditions as he experienced them in 1852. He stated after the completion of his journey:

The service on the Atlantic at this time would have better befitted the African slave trade than the carrying of American citizens; the vessels were small, ill-appointed, often unseaworthy, half manned, without order or discipline, and with little attention to comfort or safety. Exacting money before the passenger went on board, all they could get out of him, shipowners sometimes performed part, sometimes the whole of their contract, according to circumstances. . . . Jammed into a purgatorial hole, there to remain in durance vile until the heaven of California was open to them, from the beginning to the end of the journey travelers were at the mercy of these vile, unprincipled persons. The rooms were often so close and filthy that occupants dreaded to go to bed at night, and in the morning dreaded to arise and encounter the social and atmospherical impurities of the day. . . . In selling tickets little attention was paid to limitations in numbers by law; ships with a capacity for 500 would crowd in 1500, and often he who paid for a first class passage was thrust into the steerage. . . .

Throughout the whole period, service appeared to have been better on the boats in the Pacific than on those in the Atlantic. By the middle fifties and the early sixties, however, conditions had improved markedly on both oceans. These facts were attested by Samuel Bowles, also previously mentioned, who wrote:

The Pacific Company is the most notable triumph of our American steam marine, and is as popular as it has been successful. No passenger steamships in the world are larger or more elegant than theirs; no service more satisfactory to the public.

In mentioning some of the common complaints, such as overcrowding, he stated:

First class passengers ought not to exceed three to a state room; that is a crowd; more is indecent. . . . There is moral unhealth in this

heterogeneous mixture of humanity that flows back and forth in such close communion from California.

Bayard Taylor made frequent references to the overcrowding on ships on which he took passage. Of the *Oregon*, one on the best of the ships in the service of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, he stated:

The voyage from Panama to San Francisco in the year 1849, can hardly be compared to sea-life in any other part of the world or at any previous period. Our vessel was crowded fore and aft: exercise was rendered practically impossible and sleep was each night a new experiment, for the success of which we were truly grateful. . . .

Mrs. D. B. Bates in *Incidents on Land and Water*, published in 1857, describes her journey to California by way of Cape Horn and her return by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Of the *Uncle Sam* on which she was a passenger from San Francisco to Panama in the summer of 1854 she said:

The first night out on board a crowded steamer: who that has experienced it can ever forget the confusion, the sea sickness, the dissatisfaction reigning among room-mates, the squalling of parrots, the crying of babies, and all sorts of annoyance incident to the occasion? . . . In our state room, which opened upon the main deck, were three berths and a sofa. . . . My room-mates were an elderly lady and her married daughter, who had a baby eight months old. Then there was an adopted daughter, about sixteen years of age and a noisy parrot. . . .

Although the ships, as indicated, improved considerably during the late fifties, the requisition of many of the better merchant and passenger boats by the government during the Civil War led to a recurrence of the earlier abuses. Typical of the published accounts of accommodations in the war period is that of Charles Farrar Brown, who in *Artemus Ward: His Travels*, describes the *Ariel*, on which he sailed to the Isthmus of Panama in October, 1863:

We might have enjoyed ourselves very well if the *Ariel*, whose capacity was about three hundred passengers, had not on this occasion carried nearly nine hundred, a hundred at least of whom were children of an unpleasant age. . . . She is a miserable tub at best, and hasn't much more right to be afloat than a second-hand coffin has. . . . On the whole, I should prefer a voyage on the Erie Canal, where there isn't any danger, and where you can carry picturesque scenery along with you—so to speak.

Another passenger at one time on the *Ariel* was George Read. In a book published in 1862 he wrote: "A more gloomy and sad crew was seldom, if ever,

seen, 900 men, women and children, 300 of the latter." To the *Constitution* in the Pacific Coast service, however, he pays this highest tribute:

The *Constitution* is a new vessel, and one of the most splendid ships afloat. Our fare was good, rooms and beds new and clean, company pleasant, and weather very favorable.

The passenger lists of the California ships included individuals from every conceivable social, economic, and cultural classification. Of those on the *Falcon* on its journey from New Orleans in 1849, Bayard Taylor said:

Our deck became populous with tall, gaunt Mississippians and Arkansans, Missouri squatters who had pulled up their stakes yet another time, and an ominous number of professed gamblers. All were going to seek their fortunes in California, but very few had any definite idea of the country or the voyage to be made before reaching it. There were among them some new varieties of the Americans—long loosely-jointed men, with large hands and feet and limbs which would still be awkward, whatever the fashion of their clothes. Their faces were lengthened, deeply sallow, overhung by staggering locks of straight black hair, and wore an expression of settled melancholy. The corners of their mouths curved downward, the upper lip drawn slightly over the under one. . . . These men chewed tobacco at a ruinous rate, and spent their time either dozing at full length on the deck or going into the fore-cabin for "drinks." Each one of them carried arms enough for a small company and breathed defiance to all foreigners.

Of the passengers on the steamship *Oregon*, on which he sailed from Panama to San Francisco, he stated that among the company of two hundred and fifty there were:

of course many gentlemen of marked refinement and intelligence from various parts of the Union—enough, probably to leaven the large lump of selfishness and blackguardism into which we were thrown. I believe the controlling portion of the California emigration is intelligent, orderly and peaceable; yet I never witnessed so many disgusting exhibitions of the lowest passions of humanity, as during the voyage.

Almost without exception the diarists of the fifties comment in detail on the cosmopolitan character of

their fellow travelers. The improvement of the ship service and the standardization of the business, however, insured a greater degree of individual privacy and, in general, caused the passenger lists to be made up of a more prosperous group of people than previously. Nevertheless, as late as 1865, Samuel Bowles, who found less to complain about than most men, recorded toward the end of his journey:

The crowd is the only source of standing discomfort. We are as thick as flies in August; four or five in a state-room; we must needs divide into eating battalions, and go twice for our meals; . . . There is no privacy; gamblers jostle preachers; commercial women divide state-rooms with fine ladies; honest miners in red flannels sit next to my New York exquisite in French broadcloth:—and as for the babies, they fairly swarm,—the ship is one grand nursery. . . . There are at least one hundred of them on our ship. . . .

Thus run the published diaries of those who sailed to California in the days of the gold rush. They show that although the ships compared favorably with those in other parts of the world in size and elegance, they were uniformly overcrowded. In addition, the tropical heat during a goodly portion of the voyage tended to magnify the inconveniences in the minds of all and to unnerve many. At the same time, the appalling death rate was a disturbing factor on most of the California bound ships, and sickness was all too common. No doubt, therefore, most of the sea-going gold-rushers would say a fervent "Amen" to Bancroft's exclamation on his arrival in San Francisco after a thirty-day voyage:

Ashore! Never have I experienced greater physical pleasure than in the first hour ashore from a long and tedious voyage. Every pore of my senses drinks satisfaction; head and heart and heels unite in speaking their content; it is like an escape from prison or a release from purgatory. So I am in California, the lovely, the golden-dreamed, the wonderful! Looking over the water toward the east, I see through the subtle violet haze, the land before me like a land of promise; mountain, vale, and bay glimmering in a flood of saffron sunlight, zoned and studded with bright emerald hills—gold and green, significant of the royal metal in its veins, and elements of the rich harvest hidden in its breast.

Education for Racial Equality

MILDRED WILLIAMS¹

Principal, Roosevelt Junior High School, Eugene, Oregon

AND

W. L. VAN LOAN

Assistant Superintendent, Vanport City Schools, Vanport City, Oregon

It has long been recognized by thinking people that racial equality is a fundamental implication of democracy. The war is making it evident that it will also be a fundamental factor in establishing and maintaining world peace. All over the world people of various races are fighting side by side against common enemies. Filipinos fought gallantly with Americans against the Japanese. Negro divisions have marched against Rommel in Africa. Chinese, British, and Americans have fought side by side in Asia.

When the war is over self-respecting Anglo-Saxon nations cannot re-assume their pre-war air of white supremacy and re-assert their right to dominate lands inhabited by people of other races. Neither can the people of the United States ignore their own racial problems. Our nation is one that has been built by people of many races and nationalities. Our culture, however, is predominantly Anglo-Saxon, and people of Anglo-Saxon descent have in many cases come to think of themselves as the only true Americans and to regard immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, Negroes, Orientals, and Indians as foreigners and inferior in many respects to those with Anglo-Saxon blood. Race prejudice has been directed principally toward the Negro, the Oriental, and the Jew. Feeling against American citizens of Japanese ancestry has been increased by the war. When the war is over these people must again take their places in civilian life.

Participation economically, socially, culturally, and politically in our American life by all racial and national groups on a basis of equality is an essential principle of democracy. If this is to be achieved the schools must educate for it. Boys and girls must have an opportunity to learn the facts about the nature of our population, the reasons why people of various races and nationalities have come to the United States to live, that differences among races and national groups are due to differences in environment and cultural background and not to differences in innate ability, and that all racial and national groups have made worthwhile contributions to our culture. It is the duty of the school to develop on the

part of its pupils a desire to include all the people of the United States in our democratic way of living, an appreciation of the culture of the various racial and national groups within the United States, a desire to maintain cultural pluralism within political unity, and an appreciation of individual worth regardless of race or nationality.

In order to develop the understandings and attitudes essential for the development of racial equality, pupils need all of the reliable, scientific information that is available. Somewhere in the junior or senior high school social studies program there is need for a comprehensive unit on "Races and Nationalities in the United States." Such a unit is taught in the eighth grade at Roosevelt Junior High School in Eugene, Oregon.

In this unit all of the principal racial and national groups in the United States are studied. Some of the topics that are considered in connection with each group are conditions in the country from which they came, why they came to the United States, where they settled, what occupations they took up, and what they have contributed to the development of American culture. In connection with the Negro, the institution of slavery and the development of the anti-slavery movement is studied as well as the economic, social, cultural, and political status of the Negro in the United States today. Indian civilization both before and since the coming of the white man is studied to give pupils an understanding of what has happened to the Indian as a result of other people coming to America and an appreciation of what the Indian has contributed to our culture.

A unit on racial relations may be initiated in many ways. One very effective way is to give a pre-test on attitudes toward various races and racial problems and discuss statements in the test about which there is disagreement. Such a test might include statements like the following which the pupil can check to show if he agrees with, disagrees with, or is uncertain about:

- Negroes as a race are inferior in intelligence to white people.
- Negroes should not be allowed to go to the same hotels, restaurants, and theaters as white people.
- All Japanese are sly and unreliable.
- The same wages should be paid to Orientals

¹ Miss Mildred Williams and Dr. W. L. Van Loan have been members of the Stanford Social Education Investigation for the past four years. This article is the result of work done on the problem of racial tolerance. (Ed.)

as to whites for work which requires the same ability and training.

— All Jews are tricky and dishonest, and will cheat in any kind of business deal.

Another way of initiating the unit is to discuss why people are prejudiced against certain races and nationalities or whether Negroes should be discriminated against. The presentation of a good play or radio program is also a good way to arouse interest and open the problem.

There are many types of activities in which pupils may engage during the study of the unit. They may read from a wide variety of sources, including American history and civics textbooks, books dealing especially with racial problems and immigration, biographies, historical fiction, stories of immigrants, Negroes, and Indians, magazine articles, pamphlets dealing with racial and cultural relations, and the creative writing of Negro, immigrant, and Indian writers.

They may make outlines of topics for study, write summaries of magazine articles and pamphlets, reviews of books, reports on topics of interest, and original stories, poems, and plays. They may give oral reports on topics related to the unit, take part in informal group discussions, panel discussions, and dramatizations, interview members of various racial and national groups in the community, and read to the class poems, short stories, or articles written by immigrants, Negroes, or Indians.

Such a unit offers many opportunities for graphic expression. Pupils may make maps showing the racial and national origins of our population, the location of large Indian reservations, or the present distribution of Negro population. Graphs can be made showing such things as the comparative amount of crime committed by our native-born white population, our foreign-born population, and our Negro population; the growth or decrease in our Indian, Negro, and foreign-born population by decades; or the occupational distribution of any group. Murals showing the part people of various races and nationalities play in American life give opportunity for creative expression of an artistic type.

There are many fine recordings of European folk-songs, Negro spirituals and worksongs, Indian music, and Chinese and Japanese music to which pupils may listen to get a more complete appreciation of the culture of each group. Pupils also enjoy singing familiar European folksongs and Negro spirituals.

A unit on "Races and Nationalities in the United States" may be culminated in many ways. Pupils may put on an assembly program portraying the contributions various races and nationalities have made to American life. Such a program might include short talks by pupils explaining the principal contributions each group has made, songs and folk dances of vari-

ous groups, the reading of selections of creative writing of immigrants, Negroes, or Indians, and the presentation of a short play on racial relations. The play might be one written by pupils during the study of the unit. If the school has a public address system a radio program could be presented as a culminating activity. If the school has time on a local radio station a similar program could be broadcast. Another effective type of culminating activity is a "Fair of Nations," which might include an exhibit of the arts and handicrafts of as many racial and national groups as possible, and a program of characteristic music and dances. Often members of various racial and national groups living in the community will participate in such a program.

An evaluation of the outcomes of the unit is an important culminating activity. Another form of the attitude test given to initiate the unit will show to what extent pupil attitudes have changed as a result of the study of the unit. Application of principles tests, such as the following, will show both attitude and ability to apply principles to concrete situations.

Situation: A Chinese family moving into the community wish to rent an apartment. What should the landlord do?

Courses of action: On your answer sheet write the letter that precedes the course of action you think the landlord should follow.

- A. He should rent them the apartment in the same way as he would anyone else.
- B. He should refuse to rent them the apartment.
- C. He should consult his other tenants and act according to their wishes.

Reasons: Choose the reasons which you use to support the course of action you selected and write the numbers of those reasons on your answer sheet.

- 1. In a democracy the decision of the majority rules.
- 2. If he rents to one Chinese family, other Chinese families are likely to want to move in.
- 3. Many Chinese are not Christians.
- 4. In a democracy there should be no racial discrimination in renting houses and apartments.
- 5. If the other tenants don't object to the Chinese the landlord shouldn't.
- 6. The other tenants are likely to accept them more readily if they are consulted.
- 7. Chinese are as desirable tenants as anyone else.
- 8. It is undemocratic to make people of a particular race live in a certain district or section.

9. There is no reason to believe that a Chinese tenant would not take as good care of the property as any other tenant.
10. The celebration of Chinese holidays is likely to disturb other tenants.
11. The landlord will not lose any of his present tenants.
12. Chinese are clannish and would not make good neighbors for non-Chinese.
13. An individual should have the right to choose where he wishes to live.
14. One's living habits are a private matter and should be of no concern to the landlord.
15. Other tenants are likely to leave.
16. An important consideration to a landlord is keeping his tenants satisfied.
17. Chinese eat different foods from Americans and the smell of their cooking is likely to offend other tenants.

Since it is very important that pupils have a background of factual information upon which their attitudes are based, evaluation should include general information tests over important factual information included in the unit.

In order to carry on the activities suggested and achieve the objectives of such a unit, suitable materials are essential. There is a wide variety of materials on race and cultural relations available. The following lists are suggestive of some of the various types of material that may be used.

General References:

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- Brawley, Benjamin: *Negro Builders and Heroes* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1937).
- Brawley, Benjamin: *A Short History of the American Negro* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937).
- Brown, Francis J. and Roucek, Joseph S.: *Our Racial and National Minorities* (Prentice-Hall, New York, 1939).
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- Building America*: Vol. VII, No. 4, "The American Indians."
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- MacGregor, Francis Cooke: *Twentieth Century Indians* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941).
- McCellan, Mary B. and De Binus, Albert V.: *Within Our Gates* (Harper and Brothers, 1940).
- Powdermaker, Hortense: *After Freedom* (The Viking Press, New York, 1939).
- Sanchez, George I.: *Forgotten People* (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940).
- Scacheri, Marie and Mavel: *Indians Today* (Har-

court, Brace and Company, New York, 1936).
Scholastic: October 24, 1936; Indian Number.
 Schrieke, B.: *Alien Americans* (The Viking Press, New York, 1936).

Wissler, Clark: *Indians of the United States* (Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1941).

Woodson, Carter Godwin: *Negro Makers of History* (Associates Publishers, 1938).

Pamphlets:

- Pamphlets on racial and inter-cultural problems may be obtained from the following agencies:
 American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.
 American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 79 Fifth Avenue, New York.
 Chinese-American Citizens' Alliance, San Francisco, California.
 Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.
 Council Against Intolerance in America, Lincoln Building, New York.
 Indian Rights Association, 301 South 17 Street, Philadelphia.
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
 The American Association on Indian Affairs, 1000 Modern Avenue, New York.
 The China Institute of America, 119 West 57th Street, New York.
 United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Magazine Articles:

Many pertinent magazine articles on race and cultural relations may be located by use of the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

Fiction and Biography:

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- Austin, Mary: *The Promised Land* (Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1912).
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- Bear, Chief Standing: *My Indian Boyhood* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1931).
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- Peck, Anne Merriman and Johnson, Enid: *Young Americans from Many Lands* (Albert Whitwer and Company, Chicago, 1935).
- Pupin, Michael: *From Immigrant to Inventor* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926).
- Reichard, Gladys A.: *Dezba* (J. J. Augustin, New York, 1939).
- Riis, Jacob: *The Making of an American* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904).
- Robeson, E. C.: *Paul Robeson, Negro* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939).
- Schultz, James W.: *With the Indians in the Rockies* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1925).
- Steiner, Edward A.: *From Alien to Citizen* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1914).
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1929).
- Sugimoto, Elsie: *A Daughter of the Samurai* (Doubleday Doran and Company, New York, 1925).
- Swift, H. H.: *The Railroad to Freedom* (Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1932).
- Washington, Booker T.: *Up From Slavery* (Doubleday, Page and Company, New York, 1902).
- Movies:**
- "Let My People Live," Akin and Bagshaw.
- "We Work Again," WPA.
- "The Negro Farmer," United States Department of Agriculture.
- "The Story of Dr. Carver," Teaching Film Custodians, 25 West 43rd Street, New York City.
- "Navajo Indians," Erpi.
- "Navajo Children," Erpi.
- "Pueblo Dwellers," Eastman.
- "Indians of the Southwest," American Museum of Natural History, New York City.
- Recordings:**
- "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," sung by Paul Robeson.
- "Deep River," sung by Paul Robeson.
- "Mighty Like A Rose," sung by Paul Robeson.
- "Let My People Go," sung by Marion Anderson.
- "Ave Maria," sung by Marion Anderson.
- "Old Time Religion," sung by Tuskegee Quartet.
- "Album of Favorite Negro Spirituals," by Musi-craft.

Participation in International Administration: A Cinderella of American History

HENRY REIFF

St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

The United States has participated in the international administrative process since 1840. The term "international administration" as here used excludes matters essentially political or judicial, and includes, under a broad practical concept of "public administration," international conferences, congresses, activities, and "organizations in the general field of public administration or in fields that impinge upon and affect public administration."¹ During the past half

century, American participation in the process has increased *pari passu* with the growth of the process itself. The record is impressive and, from the point of view of American contributions to the solution of international problems, encouraging. Contempo-

¹ *A Directory of International Organizations in the Field of Public Administration*, Joint Committee on Planning and Cooperation (Brussels, Belgium, 1936), Preface (by Louis Brownlow), p. vii. Work obtainable in United States from Public Administration Service, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago.

rary events indicate a greatly extended participation in the administrative ordering of the post-war world. But the student of American history in high school and college would remain unaware of this participation if he relied only upon the texts he is required to read. These texts, with one notable exception,² either ignore this record entirely or make scanty reference to one or a few isolated instances of collaboration.

Evidence in support of this contention is derived from a survey of seven diplomatic histories of the United States (in a few instances, through their several editions), nine general histories, one "political and social" history, and one "social and economic" history, generally used at the college level, and four general histories widely used in secondary schools, all scholarly, all well received, and all published in the period 1924 to 1942. Most of the works devoted to the history of diplomacy or foreign relations used in college discuss the political significance of the Pan American Union and conferences and the political controversy of 1919-1920 over American membership in the League of Nations, but only a few mention American collaboration in the administrative work of those organizations, and then usually only in a paragraph, a few lines, or a footnote. One highly esteemed treatise devotes sixteen lines to the non-political work of the Pan American Union and disposes of the relation to the administrative work of the League and the International Labor Organization thus:

Only in numerous humanitarian, cultural, economic, and technical conferences held under the aegis of the League of Nations has the United States taken a full part; and in membership in the separately organized International Labor Office, for the coordination, by separate sovereign legislation, of national labor legislation throughout the world.³

Another text widely used does not refer at all to the specialized conferences and agencies of the Pan American Union but devotes eighteen lines to cooperation in the League administrative work.⁴ Most of the writers ignore the administrative agencies created to adjust border matters with Canada and Mexico. None seems interested in international exhibitions or exhibitions. Few mention even such important multipartite arrangements as those on postal

matters, radio, and health. And only occasionally is reference made to one or another of the several hundred international organizations not under treaty in whose work the United States has participated.

The so-called "general" histories follow the same pattern—casual, episodic noting-in-passing or complete omission. Ironically, the "political and social" history examined devotes more lines to this administrative aspect of American foreign relations than do most of the histories devoted to American foreign relations.⁵ The high school texts, written in several instances by the authors of college texts examined, reveal the same blind spot to the record.

No doubt, requirements of space, emphasis, and proportion in the devising of a textbook explain in large part this conspicuous inadequacy of treatment. If susceptibility to dramatization is essential to inclusion, there is plenty of human interest, even heroism, in the intimate record.⁶ It remains to be dug out. Perhaps some historians are unaware of the existence of this record, or, being aware, are not convinced it is significant in American life. Perhaps the amazing ramifications of this aspect of American foreign relations and the widely dispersed bibliography of it create in the historian a sense of futility to deal with it. The monographs and reports dealing with individual topics are indeed legion, but the comprehensive monograph dealing with the entire administrative aspect remains to be written. Meanwhile, however, a brief summary of the record, indicating the range of the collaboration, may be helpful to the historian.

Analytically, the agencies through which and by means of which American cooperation in international administration has taken place may be grouped thus: (1) the Pan American Union; (2) the League of Nations; (3) the International Labor Organization; (4) agencies established under bipartite treaties, particularly several with Canada and Mexico, respectively; (5) international exhibitions and expositions; (6) unions established under multipartite administrative treaties, other than those in the first three groups; and (7) separate independent international bodies set up in diverse ways but not in

² H. C. Hockett and A. M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social Growth of the American People*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1940), Vol. II by Schlesinger, for the period 1865-1940, pp. 474-475, and *passim*.

³ Henry Reiff, "Of Ships and Seals and Postage Stamps," *SOCIAL STUDIES*, XXVIII (May, 1937), 201. Consider Isidore Lubin's approach to King Victor Emmanuel III for aid in launching his scheme for an International Institute of Agriculture, as told by Lloyd C. Griscom, *Diplomatically Speaking* (New York, 1940), p. 297: "'King,' he began, 'I want to tell you something. I've not come to ask anything of you. I'm here to do you a favor. If you'll listen to me, King, I can alter your whole position. Everybody knows you're a second class ruler. Now, I have a proposition which, if you'll back it with all your strength, will make you a first-class one.'" Despite this original approach, the king listened, and in time the Institute was established.

⁴ Benjamin H. Williams, *American Diplomacy: Policies and Practice* (New York, 1936). The treatment of the Pan American Union, League of Nations, International Labor Organization, and many of the separate multipartite treaties is highly commendable.

⁵ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, rev. ed. (New York, 1942), p. 713. His treatment of the Canadian-American Joint and other commissions (pp. 796-800) is, however, the fullest and best of the works examined.

⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 2d ed. (New York, 1942), pp. 710-711.

pursuance of treaties and bearing little or no organic relation to the preceding six groups.

Of the public international administrative relations embraced within these seven categories it cannot be said that they have "sprung forth suddenly from the parent brain" of some sentimental internationalist or meddling administrator. The relationships established in each of the groups have in nearly all cases antecedents intermeshed with the social, cultural, economic, or intellectual history of the American people.⁷ These historical antecedents—felt needs, expressed desires, economic causations, intellectual developments, private initiative, interest group pressures, local, state, or national governmental acts, etc.—can in many instances be traced back to 1789; in a few, back even to the colonial period. They relate not merely to the growth of the American people at home but also to the extension of their interests and institutions abroad.

Since the antecedents in each group are so ramified, the selection of a date to indicate the historical order of emergence for each of these groups presents many difficulties. For present purposes, however, the date of the first overt act of public international significance in each group will be used.

According to this time scheme, group (7) emerges first. It deals with separate scientific, technical, economic, cultural, and humanitarian agencies, associations, conferences, or congresses, of an international character, not operating under or in pursuance of treaties and not dependent organizationally upon the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, or the Pan American Union. The titles of a few will illustrate the character and scope of the many: International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions; International Congress on the History of Art; International Geodetic Association; International Congress on School Hygiene; International Medical Congress; International Meridian Conference; International Monetary Conference; International Council of Nurses; International Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline; International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature.

There is great diversity in their origins, composition, structure, form, organization, methods, objectives, and degree of relation to government. They range from essentially private associations through various types of entities with mixed memberships to essentially public instrumentalities. According to a formal, ideological classification of *public* administrative agencies, many of the organizations included for present purposes in this group should be excluded, because they are not created by nor used

directly by governments for public purposes. According to a functional, realistic classification they can properly be included because they facilitate, advise, condition, and cooperate with governmental action in the fields of administration in which they are vitally interested. Studies of the realities of this phase of foreign relations need not wait upon the invention of some logic-tight scheme of classification. It is sufficient that the government of the United States has for nearly a century now, in one way or another, encouraged these organizations in their work.

The national government has encouraged, recognized, or participated in the efforts of these entities by means of one or more of the following types of relation: (1) assumption of obligations under treaties promoted by the organization; (2) acquisition of membership by the government as such in the organization; (3) appointing of official delegates to meetings; (4) defraying the cost in whole or in part of meetings; (5) contributing regularly or for special purposes to organizations, as by donations, shares, fees, dues, expenses of participation, materials, etc.; (6) facilitating attendance by government officials variously, as by leaves of absence, assignments in duty, assistance in expenses, etc.; (7) extending courtesies and facilities of the national government to meetings held in the United States; (8) securing similar considerations from local governments in the United States; (9) using unofficial observers, consular officials, and other agents, temporarily or permanently in the employ of the government, stationed locally or at the moment in transit, for the purpose of observing and reporting on meetings abroad; (10) formally welcoming or otherwise ceremonially recognizing significant gatherings in the United States; (11) contributing the products of government research; (12) publishing at public expense American contributions to the organization and in some cases the entire proceedings of meetings held in the United States; (13) furnishing administrative data without treaty obligation to do so; (14) extending and accepting official invitations on behalf of nominally private organizations; (15) initiating conferences and proposing organizations as part of the public relations activities of federal administrative agencies; (16) publishing or noting, with approval and encouragement, reports of individual officers of government who in the course of their duties have attended technical and professional meetings; and (17) relaxing visa, customs, head tax and other ingress requirements on behalf of foreign members participating in meetings held in the United States.

Entities in this seventh group appeared upon the international scene about 1840. The earliest instance of American collaboration with such an organization

⁷ Henry Reiff, "The United States and International Administrative Unions: Some Historical Aspects," *International Conciliation*, No. 332 (September, 1937), pp. 645-650.

appears to have occurred in 1853.⁸ In that year, Lieutenant Matthew F. Maury, Superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, promoted a system of agricultural meteorology at the International Meteorological Conference held at his behest and meeting in Belgium.⁹ Since then, the United States has participated in at least three hundred and sixty-seven (367) such independent international organizations, some *ad hoc*, others ephemeral, many surviving to this day.¹⁰ If all the separate (usually periodic) meetings, sessions, conferences, or congresses of the organizations attended by American delegates were tabulated, their number would unquestionably run to over a thousand.

The individual subject matters dealt with by these several hundred organizations can be catalogued, as in the League of Nations *Handbook*,¹¹ under sixteen heads, e.g., Arts and Sciences, Education, Labour and Professions, Communications and Transit, etc.; or listed under about seventy "fields" as does the *Directory of International Organizations in the Field of Public Administration*.¹² The social and cultural historian is, however, probably more interested in lists of individual subject matters which can be correlated with his other data. No such master list for this group of organizations for the whole period since 1853 has, however, been published thus far.

The beginning and end of such a list of subject matters, alphabetically arranged, might read thus: accidents (industrial), accountants (cost), actuaries, administrative science, aerial law, aerial safety . . . agricultural and farmers' organizations . . . alcoholism, Americanists, anthropology and archeology, aquiculture and fisheries . . . apples . . . architects . . . tourists . . . tuberculosis . . . vacation colonies, veterans, veterinary, welfare (child, infant), wildlife, wines (adulteration, analysis), W.C.T.U., women (country, working), wood and silviculture, workers (leisure) . . . zoological nomenclature, zoology.

Temporarily, until a comprehensive bibliography of this seventh field is prepared by public or private effort, the historian can resort in general to Bemis and Griffin's *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States 1775-1921*,¹³ the *Document Cata-*

logs,¹⁴ two lists in the *Congressional Record*,¹⁵ and *American Delegations*¹⁶ since 1932.

According to the time scheme set forth above, group (6) comes next. Here again, each overt international act has its antecedents in American life. Thus by act of July 20, 1840, Congress authorized the Library of Congress to participate in the scheme of international exchange of publications advocated by the great French bibliographer, Alexandre Vattemare. Subsequently, the Smithsonian Institution assumed the task, which it performs to this day. In 1886, under two multipartite agreements concluded at Brussels, the exchange of documents was extended and formalized. Since then special agreements, one multipartite and several bipartite, have been entered into with American Republics designed to serve regional needs. The multipartite administrative agreement method here utilized was preceded by an informal administrative method authorized by national legislation. Both the legislation and the treaties were responses to domestic cultural needs, exploited by Vattemare as early as the middle 1830's.

Similarly, other needs and desires—economic, social, scientific, and humanitarian,—have resulted first in domestic private activity and public acts and subsequently in participation in multipartite administrative arrangements. Beginning with the Cape Spatell Lighthouse agreement in 1865, the United States has thus far become a party to nearly one hundred such treaties.¹⁷ A mere listing of the *general* subject matters indicates the range: African slave trade, African liquor traffic, agriculture, aviation, bills of lading, coffee, fur seals, gold, industrial property, load lines, nationality of women, obscene publications, pharmacopoeial formulas, postal matters, publication of customs tariffs, radio, safety of life at sea, sanitation, salvage at sea, silver, statistics of causes of death, submarine cables, trade marks, weights and measures, whales, wheat, white slavery, and others. This range of topics would be expanded enormously if the separate subjects dealt with by the more comprehensive treaties were listed as *species* under their *genera*. Thus the 1929 Convention on Safety of Life at Sea includes provisions with respect to the International Meteorological Organization, the North Atlantic Ice Patrol and Derelict Service, the Inter-

⁸ *Annuaire de la vie internationale* (Bruxelles and Monaco), Vol. II, 1910/1911, p. 2537; Winifred Gregory, *International Congresses and Conferences 1840-1937: A Union List of their Publications Available in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1938).

⁹ G. B. Goode, "The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States," *Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 170*, 51 Cong. 1 Sess. (1890), (which is the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1889), p. 95.

¹⁰ List covering the period 1778-1942, prepared by the writer from sources indicated in notes 13-16 below and other government publications. Citations too numerous to give here.

¹¹ *Handbook of International Organizations* (Geneva, 1938).

¹² Full citation in n. 1 above.

¹³ (Washington, 1935), Ch. XV.

¹⁴ The several series covering the period from 1774 to date, described in L. F. Schmeckebier, *Government Publications and their Use* (Washington, 1939), pp. 5-29.

¹⁵ 72 Cong. 1 Sess., Vol. 75, pp. 11868-11871, for the period 1919-1932.

¹⁶ *American Delegations to International Conferences, Congresses and Expositions and American Representation on International Institutions and Commissions, with Relevant Data*, published annually by the Department of State.

¹⁷ For citations to all administrative treaties herein mentioned up to September, 1937, see list in Reiff's article in *International Conciliation* No. 332; thereafter, *Publications of the Department of State: A List Cumulative from October 1, 1929*. For texts, see *Statutes at Large*, *Treaty Series*, or the "Malloy" Series.

national Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea, and other functions previously not correlated formally.

The history of the events preceding American participation in each of these multipartite treaties reveals a close integration of domestic interests or American interests abroad in the international regulation of the subject matter. The bibliography, fortunately, is already well developed.¹⁸

Participation in international expositions and exhibitions (group 5) may be dated from the first Federal appropriation for a government exhibit at one of them, the Paris Industrial Exposition of 1867, although there was already official interest in the London Exhibition of 1851 and the London Fair of 1861.¹⁹ Up to 1935, appropriations were made for representation, exhibits, or other participation in fifty-one such international expositions held abroad or in the United States.²⁰ As further evidence of American interest in these assemblages, the United States government document catalogs for the period list, in addition to the several hundred reports concerning the above, reports and descriptions from consular and other officers of the United States concerning about eighty other international fairs, expositions, and exhibitions. Technically these expositions and exhibitions are *national* enterprises participated in by foreign governments and subjects, but since 1851 they have sponsored numerous international conferences on subject matters within the field of public administration. "Eighty international congresses were planned in connection with one World's Fair, and thirty or forty have been organized by the managers of others."²¹ Since 1928 the holding of international exhibitions has been regulated by a multipartite convention concluded at Paris. The United States has not yet, however, become a party to that instrument. Good bibliographical materials in this field are available,²² but the comprehensive monograph examining the effect of American participation in these

enterprises upon the United States remains to be written.

The use of administrative bodies to adjust boundary and water use questions between the United States and its northern and southern neighbors may be traced back, in the case of Canada, to the Treaty of November 18, 1794 (Jay Treaty) with Great Britain, and in the case of Mexico, to the Gadsden Treaty of December 30, 1853. Temporary expedients were used until the present century. The most important developments in group (4), however, date from the resolution introduced at the International Irrigation Congress held in Denver in 1894 "urging the appointment of a commission to act with Mexico and Canada to adjudicate conflicting rights on international streams."²³ Since then, permanent bodies have been set up: with Canada, an International Boundary Commission (1904), an International Waterways Commission (1905), and an International Joint Commission (1909); with Mexico, an International Boundary Commission (1900) and an International Water Commission (1924). The fur seals controversy with Canada was settled by the multipartite administrative treaty of July 7, 1911. Three International Commissions have also been created by treaty for fisheries in waters adjacent to Canada and the United States: border fisheries (1908); North Pacific halibut (1923); and the sockeye salmon of the Fraser River system (1930). Aviation, radio, sanitation, and other matters of high administrative importance to the United States and Canada and Mexico respectively are regulated by means of bipartite or regional agreements in subordination to or not inconsistent with the universal treaties on the same subjects. This subjection of joint problems to joint administration is but the beginning of a trend which thus far appears to have escaped the notice of many American historians.

The nature of the administrative work performed by the League of Nations, the Pan American system, and the International Labor Organization, and the share therein assumed by the United States is better known, though most of the history texts do not evidence it. The bibliography of each of these sets of relationships is already voluminous.²⁴

¹⁸ L. F. Schmeckebier, *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates* (Washington, 1935); Bemis and Griffin's *Guide*, ch. xv; H. Reiff, "The United States and International Administrative Unions: Some Historical Aspects"; and M. O. Hudson, *International Legislation* (Washington, 1931 ff.), 6 vols.

¹⁹ A. R. Hasse, *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861* (Washington, 1914-21), 3 vols., Vol. I, p. 150; Vol. II, p. 910.

²⁰ Compilation, *Expositions Which Have Been Aided by Federal Appropriations*, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress (Washington, 1934).

²¹ P. S. Reinsch, "The International Congresses and Conferences of the Last Century, etc.," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 1, pp. 565, 572 (1907).

²² For example, *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, article by Guy Stanton Ford on "Exposition"; *List of References on Expositions in the United States and Foreign Countries, 1918-1928 and A Selected List of References on Fairs and Expositions, 1928-1938*, both by Division of Bibliography, Library of Congress; *American Delegations to International Conferences*, etc.

²³ L. F. Schmeckebier, *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates*, p. 219.

²⁴ Handy introductions are, for: (1) League of Nations. Memorandum on "American Cooperation with the League of Nations," *Cong. Rec.*, Vol. 71, pp. 2599-2062 (June 10, 1929); U. P. Hubbard, "The Cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations and International Labor Organization," *International Conciliation*, No. 274 (Nov. 1931) and thereafter annual reviews in the same series. (2) Pan American system. W. Kelchner, *Inter-American Conferences 1826-1933, Chronological and Classified Lists*, Department of State, Conference Series No. 16 (Washington, 1933), and L. F. Schmeckebier, *International Organizations*, etc., pp. 75 ff. (3) International Labor Organization. *International Conciliation* Series and L. F. Schmeckebier, *International Organizations*, etc., pp. 315 ff. See cumulative *List of Publications* of the Depart-

Much progress has been made in the study of international organizations within the field of public administration as instruments for the better ordering of international society. Some progress has been made in the study of American collaboration with those organizations. It remains the task of historians of American foreign relations, social historians, and sociologists²⁵ to measure and evaluate the substantive changes produced in American life and thought by participation in this process of international administration. The private social or economic interest groups concerned most intimately with a particular international relationship are too keen upon the scent of their quarry to function successfully as interpreters of their own conduct. Government officials as active participants in the process cannot be expected to view their own acts and their effects with scholarly detachment. Political scientists are preoccupied with the *overt* aspects of the process, *e.g.*, structure, legal

arrangements, organization, functions, classification, and the relation of the United States thereto. It is the historians and the sociologists who possess the techniques for dealing with the *covert* aspects, *e.g.*, social and economic causes and effects of American participation, the importing and exporting of cultural elements, the diffusion of legal and other norms in the United States as a consequence of collaboration.

Confessedly, cooperation in the international administrative process is but a small portion of the total foreign relations of the United States. But it is large enough not to be so consistently ignored. If the writers of texts are pressed for space, there are always a few repetitious inconsequentialities that can be dropped. Historians of diplomacy naturally are preoccupied with conflict and the resolution of conflict. This aspect of foreign relations is both important and dramatic. But it is not seeing foreign relations steadily and as a whole if the area of peaceful, routine agreement is unduly excluded, relatively less important and less dramatic though it may be. Every legitimate effort ought to be made to dispel further the American myth of parochialism, not merely because the myth is dangerous but particularly because it is contrary to fact. To this end, historians can contribute by at least stating the fact of collaboration in the many fields of public administration indicated above. Interpretation and appraisal of the participation should follow, where possible. In any event, eschewing of the factual record by the writers of texts ought to cease.

ment of State for the several labor conventions thus far ratified by the United States. In general, also, for all seven fields mentioned in this paper, see new series of *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, edited by S. S. Jones and D. P. Myers, of World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass., begun with volume for 1938-1939.

²⁵ If *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1933), is a measure of professional interest, only subsumed reference to the process appears in the short discussion of the growth of international organizations of public officials, Vol. II, pp. 1417-1418. L. D. White, in his *Trends in Public Administration* (New York, 1933), notes in Ch. XX on the "Growth of Official and Professional Associations in the Public Service" several of the international associations, but confines his discussion to the national aspects of the growth.

The Teacher's Share in the Good Neighbor Policy

GLORIA HATCHER

Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan

"There must be a world society after the war!" You, as well as I, must be increasingly conscious of this cry. But what about a United America before we try to have a United World? Surely the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere can be drawn closer together. Although the Good Neighbor policy is carried out by the federal government, it is not the work of our government alone. It is the work of the people of the United States. Until the people of North America understand the people of Latin America and appreciate their culture and importance, we can never win and retain the friendship of the Latin "Americanos." This friendship and understanding can be attained only through education. Our youth of today must be trained to promote hemispheric solidarity and to carry on relations with the

countries of Latin America. Viewing this problem from an educator's point of view, the question at once arises: "What is the teacher's responsibility in bringing the Americas closer together?" The teacher, from the first grade through the senior year of college and beyond, can do much in helping to break down the human factors of misunderstanding, suspicion, ill-will, and unfriendliness which are today veritable stumbling-blocks on the highway of inter-Americanism.

One of the greatest handicaps in promoting inter-American friendship and understanding is the scarcity of teachers adequately prepared to teach about Latin America. There is a dire need for teachers well-versed in the knowledge and understanding of Latin America and its varied peoples. One effective

and interesting way of gaining some knowledge of a country is to go there. Traveling to some of the Latin American countries offers endless opportunities to the teacher in studying the people, their customs, and manner of living. An important phase of the Good Neighbor policy is the development of a plan whereby thousands of teachers will visit Latin America each year. Summer sessions are being held at universities in the different countries. By attending one of these sessions and living right with the people, the teacher gets to know the cultural background of Latin America and the people, and so is able to give it to others when she returns. All teachers should become acquainted with our neighbors to the South, not just the professors in colleges or the teachers of Spanish.

The teacher should take it upon herself to take several of the good courses offered in Latin American history, economics, and geography. In order to really come to know the people in the countries south of us, we must know their language. Therefore, it is a vital necessity for the teacher to have a knowledge of Spanish, and some Portuguese if possible, for one of the biggest problems will be in teaching these languages to the boys and girls all through their school years. If the teacher is going to be adequately prepared to promote inter-American solidarity, she should also be acquainted with the many governmental teaching aids on Latin America. Our government has taken a great interest in promoting the study and understanding of Latin America. It has made available many bulletins, teaching units, and pamphlets. In addition, there are Latin American teaching exhibits of books, flags, stamps, pictures, and records which the Library Service Division of the United States Office of Education makes available for a two week period.¹ There are slides and movies which make the work very concrete and forceful. These are but a few suggestions on how a teacher who is interested in this field can and should be preparing herself now for this important work.

Now, supposing the teacher is adequately prepared, what is her responsibility in the classroom of producing a closer relationship between the Americas? The important thing to remember is that this program should be started in the early elementary grades. The teacher should try to give her classroom a Latin American atmosphere by arranging posters, pictures of the people, and exhibits of pottery and basket weaving. The primary school child will be conscious of all of these and will be eager to know more about these people. Spanish can be taught to these children by using a conversational approach and stressing good pronunciation. However, they should not begin to read Spanish until the fourth or fifth

grade, and grammar should be postponed until the eighth or ninth. There are many activities that can be brought in with the teaching of Spanish which help to maintain the child's interest, such as counting in Spanish, playing store where the child has to ask in Spanish for the objects he wishes to buy, singing little songs, and playing games where Spanish words have to be used. All of these activities lessen the child's self-consciousness in speaking a foreign language, and make the learning of the language play to him.² The pupils in the primary grades will learn a great deal about the people and customs of Latin America through reading simple stories with a Spanish American background; storytelling, dramatizations, constructing simple exhibits, drawing pictures, taking imaginary trips to a certain country, and learning simple dances which the boys and girls of the Latin American countries dance. In countless ways the ingenious teacher can bring Latin America into her daily school work.

In the upper elementary and in the intermediate grades the attitude of good will toward Latin America can be brought out more forcefully. Here the study of Spanish is continued, and a study of Latin American history and geography is begun. These studies should aim at developing the idea of understanding and appreciation rather than merely factual information. News items, motion pictures, slides, and radio broadcasts can be connected with these courses. The child should be impressed with the fact that Latin America includes twenty distinct countries, each with its different occupations and mode of living. In connection with their social studies classes, the pupils can have travelogues on the different countries, make up exhibits of the products of certain countries, start stamp collections, and have class panels. In their English class, themes and plays with a Latin American background can be suggested. The music and composers of Latin America should be studied in the music classes. These will build up the attitude in the school child of what Latin America means to us, and through the children, parents will become more conscious of the continent to the South.

"Up to now, our secondary schools have done little to promote good will and understanding of our southern neighbors except through extra-curricular activities relating to Pan American Day and Pan American clubs."³ But if our youth are to be led to recognize the importance of inter-Americanism, and are to be trained to promote it successfully in order that the policies of the leaders of tomorrow will win and hold that type of Latin American cooperation which will make for greater prosperity, security, and

² M. W. Murdock and L. O. Wright, "A Fifth Grade Spanish Club Experiment in Oregon," *Hispania*, XXIV (October, 1941), 266.

³ "Becoming Acquainted with Latin America," *The School Review*, XLIX (June, 1941), 405.

¹ "Inter-American Educational Relations," *Education for Victory*, I (April 15, 1942), 14.

happiness in this country, the high schools of the United States will have to declare themselves for an all out program of inter-Americanism. "Inter-Americanism must take its place alongside that other important educational goal—Democracy—in our educational system."⁴ Although Spanish is taught in many secondary schools and colleges, Portuguese, the language of forty million people, is almost wholly neglected. This language could be offered in senior high school and continued in college. In teaching Spanish, most teachers still cling to the Castilian pronunciation. Our students should be taught the pronunciation used in the Latin American republics, as they will be using the language in connection with these countries. Also, in these Spanish courses, the modern literature of Central and Southern America, and some of their newspapers could be profitably read. *The Reader's Digest*, for example, now has a Spanish edition.

Most pupils graduate from high school with the impression that Latin America has produced little or no literature. More attention should be devoted to the prose and poetry of Latin America in high school literature classes. The history classes should include South, Central, and North American history. A study of the discovery, exploration, colonization, and constitutions of the Latin American Republics can be integrated with the same phases of North American history.⁵ The great heroes of the Latin American countries should be made known to the pupils. Latin American music could be included in the repertoire of the high school orchestra and choral groups; their art could be studied in connection with ours in art classes. Physical education classes can attain a new interest in the eyes of the students by incorporating Latin American dances, sports, and games into their program, and perhaps sponsoring a Mexican fiesta, or a Latin American carnival in which the whole school could participate. This would really bring Latin American life and customs home to the students. A most important means of building up interest in Latin America is the assembly program which the whole school attends. Here many opportunities present themselves for procuring good lecturers in the field of Latin American history, sociology, economics, education, and customs, such as consuls from the various countries stationed in nearby cities and people in the community who have traveled in Latin America. These lecturers will cast a new light on the study of Latin America and show our young people the opportunities that are open to them in furthering our relations with Latin America.

Throughout this inter-American program, the

understanding of inter-Americanism should be based on three principles: a realization of the likenesses as well as the differences in language, customs, traditions, beliefs, and basic needs between the people of the student's own community and the people of the Latin American countries; realization that all the Americas are struggling with the same fundamental problems; and a realization of the importance of cooperation.⁶ In cooperating with our governmental policy of friendship and understanding of the other American republics, the school can do a great and important job. The school can improve the national attitude toward the Latin American republics; develop an appreciation for their culture; enlarge the ability to understand and converse with our neighbors in their own languages; stimulate interest and inform the public in inter-American affairs, and assist in research in inter-American relations. The elementary school and the high school can do much toward furthering the first three, but the last named is a job for the colleges alone.

Our colleges and universities can supply much needed information in the health, economics, social trends, education, and religion of our neighboring countries. Courses offered in history, government, geography, and international relations enable them to assist in research in inter-Americanism. The colleges can, also, train more teachers of Spanish and Portuguese for our schools. Graduate students in education and the teachers should work out special units on some particular phase of Southern or Central American study which can be used in elementary and secondary schools. Also, teachers of Spanish should make out plans which could be used by teachers in the elementary schools to teach beginning Spanish in a conversational manner, as there is a shortage of texts adapted to the early grades. Statesmen who are interested in promoting friendly relations with Latin America despair over the fact that there are so few men and women properly trained and equipped for the task of bringing the Americas closer together. It is the job of the college teacher to see that the youth in our colleges have an opportunity to be adequately prepared for such work. These students must be given information on current conditions in Latin America. Many of the larger colleges and universities, such as Princeton, have arranged summer study courses in Latin America, and many other colleges would profit immensely from doing so. Then the student would be able to become actually acquainted with the people and their customs.

By emphasizing Spanish and Portuguese over the other modern languages, the colleges would be helping to provide young men and women who are able

⁴W. Wachs, "Pan Americanism Challenges the Teacher," *American School Board Journal*, CV (December, 1942), 24.

⁵S. R. Emmons, "Inter-American Friendship Through the Public Schools of Louisiana," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, VI (November, 1942), 165.

⁶V. E. Herrick, "Knowing Our Neighbors," *The Elementary School Journal*, XLII (November, 1941), 161.

to speak the languages of Latin America fluently. It is the responsibility of the college teacher to help make available to the government future diplomats who know the language, people, background, culture, and temperament of Latin America. Young men and women entering trade and industry would have an essential knowledge of the geography, climate, commerce, and the foreign relations of the Latin Americas. Lastly, the North American tourists going to Latin America would make friends with the people by having a better understanding of them. The college teacher can certainly do much toward promoting understanding and friendship with Latin America.

What the teacher's responsibility in promoting a closer relationship between the Americas is in the classroom, we have already seen. But does her influence end there? Most assuredly not. The teacher is a person of vital importance in the community. She is called upon to perform many other duties, and is thus a member of many social groups. One of the most important of these is the Parent-Teacher Association, whereby she comes in contact with the parents of her pupils. She can direct the talks given at these meetings into Latin American channels. Articles published in the community papers on the Latin American activities of her class will arouse much comment among the parents. Stimulating interest in inter-American affairs at other community organizations can be done by giving talks, and draw-

ing attention to the *Pan-American Bulletin* and other publications concerning Latin American pageants, Pan American Day programs, and school exhibits given at the school gym or the public library will be bound to interest many people other than the children's parents. Gradually the people of the community will become better acquainted with and friendlier toward our neighbors south of the Rio Grande. Multiply this by a friendly interest in Latin America in other communities all over the country, and a big step toward educating the adults as well as the children to inter-American friendship will be taken. Our mass education toward a United America will be begun.

The views given in this paper are but a small part of the greatness which is the teacher's responsibility in promoting inter-Americanism. If only the individual teacher would stop to realize how great a responsibility, how wonderful an opportunity is hers! If she can only do a few of the things mentioned above, she will be helping in promoting one of the greatest movements of our century. Promoting an understanding of Latin America in the minds of our children is her job. One of the most important contributions in the defense of democracy that education can make today is the vigorous promotion of inter-American friendship and understanding. Not a single teacher must fail.

What About the Core Course?

MELVIN STRONG

Director, Adult Education, Manzanar, California

The core course began as a fusion of English and social science; it later became known as "Basic Curriculum," and still later as "Social Living." In current literature it is confused with core curriculum. Correlation and integration are terms with which it has been identified by some. It has developed in response to the much felt need of adjusting part of the school program, at least, to the ability, interests, and maturation level of the students. It was believed by the writer that much confusion existed in the thinking of teachers working with the core course as to its purposes, content, and organization.

A questionnaire study, therefore, was begun in 1941 to ascertain the theory and practice of best core course programs over the country with the desire to pass on the findings to others who may be interested. The writer believed that the core course was the type of organization most suitable, among the newer curriculum patterns, for the realization of individual differences and provision of a variety of ac-

tivities and experiences most needed by secondary school pupils.

If some clarification of purposes and content can result from the study it will have been well worth the effort.

Statement of the Problem: It is the purpose of this study (1) to ascertain the theory and practice of the core course in selected junior and senior high schools of the country; (2) to determine objectives of the core course, problems facing core course workers, content of core courses, special teacher preparation for the core course; and (3) to evaluate the core course as a type of basic curriculum reorganization.

Definition: For the purpose of the present study, the core course is defined as that double period course, taught by a single teacher, cutting across subject matter lines, sometimes referred to as "Social Living" or the "Basic Course," but stressing "areas of life activity" rather than single subjects, and placing special emphasis on individual differences in

interests, needs, maturation, and special abilities.

Procedure: Method of Gathering Data. A review of current literature dealing with curriculum revision revealed the names of several persons who might be considered "curriculum specialists." A questionnaire was sent to forty-three of these individuals, asking for core course data and for names of successful core course teachers to whom inquiry blanks dealing with the core course might be sent. Names of eighty-three core course teachers were thus obtained and inquiry blanks were sent to them. A 64 per cent return on these inquiry blanks was received.

The first page of this inquiry blank to teachers defined the core course and asked for cooperation in the study. The following five pages aimed at finding out the major purposes of the core course; the subject matter content; the place of guidance, general education, and continued improvement of fundamental processes in the core course; teacher preparation for core course work; agencies having a part in initiating core course programs; methods used; relation of the core course to the rest of the instructional framework; class organization in the core course; nature of pupil activity; obstacles facing core course workers, and teacher evaluation of practices in light of theory.

Major Findings: A. The main reasons for which a core course is initiated are: (1) Better adjustment to individual differences in light of configurational psychology and the philosophy of experimentalism; (2) the continuation of the general education of the pupil; (3) continuation of the fundamental processes into the secondary school, and (4) to provide a center for the daily life guidance activities of the pupil.

B. Some of the problems facing core course workers include: (1) Curriculum specialists believe the main obstacle in the way of adequate realization of core course objectives is untrained teachers, and that teacher training institutions are not doing their full share in the preparation of core course teachers; (2) Some teachers believe their programs are being handicapped because of administrative red-tape, norms, standards, courses of study for which they are still held responsible. Such "pressures" interfere with free experimentation, stress subject matter instead of general education, and prevent necessary cooperative planning and the releasing of the creative intelligence of pupils.

C. With the exception of some interference due to field trips and excursions the core course is working in well with the general administrative organization of the school.

D. Content of the core course includes English and social science, in their broad sense, in all cases studied. Science is included in over 90 per cent of the cases, and art, music, mathematics, health, industrial

arts, commerce, physical education are included in some core course programs. Reading is the only fundamental process that receives attention in all the programs studied.

E. Probably the weakest spot in core course programs studied is the rather general failure to take advantage of educational values inherent in a complete class organization.

F. A majority of both curriculum specialists and core course teachers believe that the core course should be continued as a basic type of curriculum reorganization.

Recommendations. Proposals are made for:

(1) The development of a core course on a basis of felt needs; that it evolve naturally out of the lives and enthusiasms of pupils concerned rather than be adapted from practices elsewhere.

(2) A careful selection and pre-service training of core course teachers as such, and for continued cooperative training, in-service training, by means of teacher workshops.

(3) A curriculum of human experience rather than of subjects. The content of the core course must be less concerned with facts than with ideas, ideals, tastes, attitudes, emotional stability, and understandings common to all democratic citizens regardless of sex, vocation, or social status.

(4) A class organization based on such a division of responsibilities as will result in the development of individual initiative, resourcefulness, sense of personal responsibility, ability to cooperate and to plan cooperatively for the greatest good of the greatest number.

Summary. Better adjustment to individual differences in line with newer emphasis on child development is the major responsibility of the core course. This desired adjustment is being attempted by means of a double period course; through the use of the unit method of instruction; by extending general education into the secondary school; by making the core course the center of guidance activities, and by a continuation of the fundamental processes into the high school.

Curriculum specialists believe that the core course is succeeding where it is in the hands of qualified teachers, and that the main obstacle confronting core course planners and workers is in lack of vision, enthusiasm, resourcefulness, and special training. The degree to which this double period course will differ from a conventional, single period, subject centered course will depend largely upon the teacher. Just putting a core course into the daily schedule may not change things very much. The real improvements that take place in the classroom will result from the creativeness and background of the teacher. Providing such teachers is a modern challenge to teacher training institutions.

Visual and Other Aids

MAURICE P. HUNT

Kenton High School, Kenton, Ohio

In many high schools within the experience of the writer the showing of films is often attended by much worry and tearing of hair on the part of the teacher. The 16 mm. projector must be set up in the classroom at the proper angle and distance from the screen. Light must be excluded from the room—often a difficult task. A screen must be provided if one is not already in the room. Electric cords must be arranged and students warned not to trip over them. I recall one sad experience of my own when another department had borrowed the cord used to hook the loudspeaker up with the projector; it took half an hour for a student to trace the cord down and get it attached. By that time the class period was so near over that the film could not be shown.

Furthermore, films are often shown to only one class during the day and the time involved in getting things ready at the beginning of the period and getting things out of the way at the end of the period for the next class may take considerable time that can ill afford to be wasted. Perhaps teachers would use more films if some arrangement could be made to eliminate most of the inconvenience and waste of time that often occurs.

A method for showing films that makes things much simpler for the teacher is now used by many schools, and can be adopted in almost any school which cares to do so. This plan is to have a special room devoted exclusively to the showing of films and available every period during the day.

Many schools have an extra room which can be turned into a projection room. Other schools have certain rooms free at certain hours, and by the proper shifting of classes can free a room for the entire day.

One advantage of a special projection room is that permanent equipment can be set up, thus avoiding the problem of transporting and adjusting equipment for each film showing. A projection room should be provided with a projection booth to house the projector. I have seen quite satisfactory booths built of odds and ends with little expense. The booth should be built on a small platform so that the light carrying the image from the projector to the screen will be well over the heads of the audience. Some sort of forced-air ventilating equipment will be needed for the booth, as well as fire-fighting equipment. The ambitious school might even arrange some manner of soundproofing for the booth, although simply moving the projector to the back

of the room and placing it in a booth eliminates part of the noise present when projectors are operated in the ordinary classroom. The construction of a booth would be a good project for the manual training classes.

A permanent screen of adequate size may be attached to the wall. The wiring necessary to the projection room may also be permanently placed, and a switch to operate the room lights located inside the booth. Cabinets containing films owned by the school can be kept in the room, thus making the films conveniently available at all times. Movable chairs, sufficient in number to seat an entire class, can be used, although if money is available, fixed, auditorium-type seats may be installed. The room must be darkened in some manner. The school without funds for special curtains should be able to improvise in some manner. Ordinary window shades are not satisfactory, since they let in too much light.

The use of a special projection room lends itself to a simplified and effective organization for the showing of films. A projection-room crew should be chosen from the student body at the beginning of the year, and should have enough members so that an operator will be available for every period in the day. At the beginning of each week, one member of the crew will compile a list of all the films scheduled by teachers to arrive that week. A simple chart is made out with a space for each class period of the week, and this chart, together with the list of films, is taken to each teacher in the school who uses films. Each teacher indicates which periods he wishes to take his classes to the projection room, the films he wishes shown, and the order of showing. In case of conflicts, it may be possible for one teacher to have films shown during the first half of the period and another teacher during the last half. The projection crew keeps this chart as the basis for its week's activities. The teacher takes his class to the projection room at the scheduled period, where the operator for that period will already have the film threaded in the machine ready to be projected.

It will be seen that the responsibility of the teacher is simple, that the only time wasted is the time required to take classes to and from the projection room, and that there is likely to be greater use by each teacher of films ordered by other teachers. If the projection room is properly planned and furnished, the showing of films should also be more effective from the standpoint of their influences on

pupils, since improvised classroom showings may not be conducive to the best attention of the students.

NEWS NOTES

The Recordings Division of the American Council on Education has been added to the New York University Film Library. This Division will continue to make available to schools recordings on educational subjects, to advise teachers and discussion group leaders about recordings for use in their programs, to prepare and to distribute carefully selected lists of educational recordings, and to perform other services. The Division has available over one thousand educational recordings. Some of these may be borrowed by schools without charge, and others may be purchased at a reasonable price. For detailed information, write to the New York University Film Library, Recordings Division, 152 West 42nd Street, New York City.

Films and recordings of the New York University Film Library, transcripts of University of Chicago Round Table Programs, and copies of the Public Affairs Pamphlets may be secured through a central organization for their distribution called "New Tools for Learning," located at 7 West 16th Street, New York 11, New York. Several hundred NYU Film Library films are available through this

organization. These films can be secured for a nominal rental fee, and many of them are available for a service charge of fifty or seventy-five cents. Transcripts of the Sunday afternoon broadcasts of the University of Chicago Round Table are published with reading lists and illustrations at a cost of ten cents each. The Public Affairs Pamphlets are published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., of New York City. There are now sixty titles available, with a new one being published each month. These pamphlets sell for ten cents each, or twelve for one dollar. Teachers should write to New Tools for Learning for their leaflet describing these materials.

Teachers interested in visual and other aids should write to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., for the booklet "Sources of Visual Aids for Instructional Use in Schools," prepared by the United States Office of Education. This booklet costs fifteen cents. It lists sources of charts and graphs, filmstrips, slides, maps and globes, motion pictures, photographs, posters, specimens, models, etc. It also lists companies where cameras, projectors, and slide materials may be obtained, and sources of information on the educational use of visual aids.

Readers will note that this column has a new editor this year. He will appreciate any suggestions or ideas which readers care to submit.

News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

Head, Department of Social Studies, Girard College, Philadelphia

EDUCATION AND PEACE

Last month, in this department, it was noted that education is being called upon to play a role, as never before, in the making of the peace. Educators are of the opinion that education is a primary factor whose neglect might nullify the accomplishment of the designs for peace. Such is the view expressed by the Educational Policies Commission in its recently issued document, *Education and the People's Peace*. This is one of the most important publications of the National Education Association. A four-page excerpt from the document is printed in the September issue of *The Journal* of the Association ("Education and the People's Peace").

The Commission believes that the failure to assure peace after the last war was due in no small measure to the failure to provide and finance international education for peace. Only the dictators saw and used adequately the power of education. They regimented minds and militarized spirits even before they

launched armament programs; and their policies were successful. Peace is as much a matter of education as of political organization, treaties, and trade arrangements. Rightly organized, education can be as tremendous a force for peace, as in Axis countries it has been for war.

We should be a leader in organizing education for peace, using democratic principles for determining the goals. The United Nations, in line with these principles and goals, should formulate a constructive educational policy for international application. To carry out their policies and plans, they should also establish an international agency for education.

The governments and peoples of the United Nations hold in their grasp an opportunity that has seldom been offered before and may never be repeated. . . . Now is the time for the American people to match the varied wealth of their resources, and the tremendous military potential of their men and machines, with a

moral and educational program of equal stature.

The British Joint Commission of the Council for Education in World Citizenship takes a similar stand in its report, *Education and the United Nations*. The work of these commissions and other bodies is described at some length in the section on "Educational News and Editorial Comment," in *The School Review* for September, under the heading, "Planning for Postwar Reconstruction."

A fine statement of the need for international education for peace was made by Professor George A. Coe, now retired from Teachers College, Columbia University, in the September 11 issue of *School and Society*. Writing on "Postwar Pupil Experience in Axis Countries," Professor Coe declared that the war "is rooted in education; it is a contest between educations." The Axis countries designed education to lead nations into war. If we want peace we must design education for it. Some of the features of this task were suggested by Dr. Coe. Important to the task is the problem of giving to the youth and the adults in Axis nations experience with the free give-and-take of democracy. Their leaders should have our help to reconstruct their school systems to teach for peace and freedom. Such a venture by us may require that we do a great deal of re-thinking and re-casting in our own educational systems.

POSTWAR EDUCATION

An interesting symposium on "What Education Will Be 'Out'—And 'In'?" featured the July issue of *Peabody Journal of Education*. The nine brief articles by educators in widely scattered parts of the United States contain widely varying views. But they all assume that the postwar world will be under United Nations and not under Nazi leadership.

Teaching for and training in democratic living will have new meaning and importance. The necessity to preserve order and peace in this now small world will require better knowledge and understanding of other peoples, all of whom now are neighbors one to another. Geography, languages, history will therefore gain in importance. Moreover, it seems evident already that education for life in a technological world is on the increase. The sciences, mathematics, vocational training and guidance will occupy leading places in the curriculum.

These observations, containing little novelty, bring to mind the axiom of the continuity of history. And yet distinct change may be evident. It is possible that subject matter will again be stressed, and the curricular experiments suggested by such phrases as activities program and child-centered school will receive less attention. Fundamentalism may push progressivism into the background. More older youth may seek jobs while more adults will return to

school. This symposium offers both general comment and specific prediction which will aid teachers who are thinking about the practical questions of our changing educational world.

PROBLEM OF INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS

The prejudices of so-called races toward one another are likely to be magnified after this war. Hitherto such prejudices have been national problems principally when different races and nationalities dwelt within a nation. But in a world of much travel and quick transport, diverse peoples are likely to move more readily than ever from region to region, accentuating the race problem. Education seems to be the best instrument to use in destroying prejudice.

In the September number of *The Scientific Monthly*, teachers will find an article very helpful for classes studying this problem. Dr. Robert Redfield, of The University of Chicago, described "What We Do Know About Race" in a way that showed the lack of connection between the social bases of racial prejudice and the biological differences between peoples.

Biological differences are superficial only: for example, in skin color, form of hair, shape of nose or lips. But only those superficial differences which are noticed ever enter our racial attitudes. Anthropologists find that the shape of the shin bone is as distinctive a characteristic of race as any physical feature. But no racial attitude is based on shin-bone differences, as they are on color differences.

Races, like the Jewish or the Aryan, are socially supposed races and not biologically distinctive. That is, "apparent marks of difference become identified with the sentiments and collective judgments" made about a group.

Professor Redfield explained how prejudices against such groups as Negroes and Jews, for instance, are determined by a people's social status, history, and the nature of their group contacts. A prejudice is tremendously heightened if a racial twist can be given to it. Examples abound in our South, in Germany, and now all over the United States with regard to the Japanese. Men will even harm their own interests in order to give rein to prejudice. The need to win this war is sacrificed by some men who refuse to work beside a colored man in a war industry.

It is the noticed and the believed-in differences of race that are of consequence to men. Race consciousness, race prejudice and race relations of all kinds are aspects of the peculiar nature of man. It is because men have imaginations, because they develop conventional viewpoints, because they depend on such symbols as skin-color, language, religion or surname as the

short and easy guides to the expression of established attitudes that race is one of the principal factors in human affairs. Race is, therefore, a variable that depends upon custom and changes with historical events. Therefore, in turn, it may be darkened by propaganda or it may be clarified by education.

In the same periodical, the month before, Dr. Redfield's colleague, Professor W. M. Krogman, wrote on the same subject. He dealt with the biological differences and supplied the background for Dr. Redfield's article.

William C. Bagley, the editor of *School and Society*, says in its issue for September 4 ("The Myth of Nordic-Aryan-'Herrenvolk' Superiority") that an essential and continuing task of democratic education is to teach "that there is no valid basis for the claims of any nation or any race to the possession of traits that make it *innately* or *naturally* or *inescapably* superior, mentally or morally, to other nations or other races." His remarks were inspired by Dr. Krogman's article. Such assumptions of superiority helped to cause the present war and, if they continue to flourish, will prevent permanent peace. We all are duty-bound to teach the disinterested truth—that is, the facts, such as those stated by Professors Krogman and Redfield—about "alleged innate national and racial differences in mental and moral traits." The United Nations will defeat themselves if in the interests of peace they prevent military rearmament while they do nothing to prevent nations from rearming psychologically by teaching in their schools the myths of national and racial superiority. But Dr. Bagley does not propose that the United Nations should thrust their "peculiar democratic ideologies and standards of value down the throats of conquered peoples."

The analyses in *The Scientific Monthly* come from the pens of two anthropologists. Dr. Bagley's reactions are those of a teacher of teachers. In the September issue of *Current History* are observations on the subject of race by a psychiatrist and a sociologist. Their views supplement those of the anthropologists.

Dr. W. V. Silverberg of the New York Medical College, in "Race Prejudice—Social Immaturity," looks upon prejudice as an evidence of social immaturity. Racial antagonisms are aroused principally, he says, by a sense of insecurity which so often develops from competition for economic goods or for social status.

Professor W. C. Headrick of New York University, in "Race Riots—Segregated Slums," relates prejudice to specific social conditions. His article was inspired by the Negro riots in Detroit and New York. Urban planning, he states, has always lagged

far behind industrial expansion. Men as workers have been provided with jobs long before the community was ready to provide them, as human beings, with adequate living and play space. Negro workers, in cities with rapidly expanding war industries, have been forced to crowd into ghettos. Moreover, money has been an important means in American life for improving social status. Negro discontent has been aggravated by the possession of money without the right to better social status, or the opportunity to live in better surroundings, or even the chance to spend it on goods because of the restricted production of consumer commodities. The United Nations insist they will bring liberation and equality to the beaten and downtrodden. But at home here, the Negro fears that his inferior status, which is reflected in so many practices, restrictions, and attitudes, will remain unchanged.

The conditions which lead to such outbursts as we had a few months ago in Detroit and New York can be alleviated. The establishment of city-owned markets in slum areas would put a damper on the exploitation of the masses. Strict control of rents and the rooting out of slums so that adequate living and play space is assured Negroes and others are also essentials. To aid in reducing the congestion in slum areas, Professor Headrick suggests that families on relief there be removed to sections less expensive for living than our big cities. Negroes should be allowed to participate more fully in professional life and civil service, at least by serving as teachers, judges, social workers, policemen, and storekeepers in Negro sections. In general, Professor Headrick's suggestions propose practical ways for improving both the economic and the social status of Negroes and lessening their sense of insecurity.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: AN APPRAISAL

American foreign policy probably will play upon the daily life of citizens as never before. It behooves them to study it. *Fortune*, in August, presented the first of three articles which examine the political setting of American foreign policy against the global background, the workings of the Department of State, and the basic principles underlying the policy.

Joseph M. Jones, until recently an officer of the State Department, analyzed the setting in the first article: "A Modern Foreign Policy." Its first responsibility, he said, is to the people, the source of power. Such responsibility has been kept at arm's length, actually, by the jealousy of President and State Department for their constitutional prerogatives. The power over foreign affairs which was granted to the President by the Constitution makers was in line with the times when "foreign affairs consisted of occasional relations between sovereigns, usually based

upon the provisions of formal treaties."

The great power of the executive, in foreign affairs, is shown best, perhaps, in the use of executive agreements. About twelve hundred such agreements have been made by our Presidents, some with congressional concurrence by resolution and many with no aid from the people's representatives. Some of our foremost policies, such as the Monroe Doctrine and the Open-Door Policy, have been purely executive creations.

Is it wise to allow executive control over foreign affairs to continue to grow nowadays without control by the people? The two-thirds rule for treaty ratification has placed too much power in the hands of a Senate minority. But is the uncontrolled executive agreement free from possible abuse? It is subject only to the congressional control of the nation's purse.

Foreign affairs no longer remain on the outskirts of domestic; the two today are intertwined. Events abroad determine events at home. Fear of communism, after Russia's revolution, provoked many acts here; British manipulation of rubber prices after the last war threatened to upset our automobile industry; and we shall be compelled to support a military establishment in the postwar world such as our traditions and practice never sanctioned.

No longer is there a clear separation of domestic from foreign affairs. Hence Congress now feels it should have a voice in determining foreign as well as domestic policies. Many resolutions have been introduced which express that feeling. Congressmen may act less in the national interest than in partisan and local interests, but they nevertheless should share in the responsibility for foreign affairs, as the representatives of the people. More, not less democracy, is needed.

For all his power in foreign affairs, as Wilson's last years revealed, the President cannot speak with authority for the nation when treaty commitments are involved. Since Wilson, no nation is sure that the United States will live up to its commitments. As a world leader, such assurance is necessary more than ever. Time presses and we cannot wait for constitutional amendment to meet the need. Responsibility should be shared by the executive and the people and their representatives. Mr. Jones suggests five stop-gap measures:

1. Require the Secretary of State to appear periodically before Congress for public questioning and debate on foreign policy.
2. Require at least the chairman and ranking minority members of Congressional committees dealing with foreign affairs to meet periodically in private with the President and Secretary of State for frank discussion.

3. Require the Secretary of State to report fully and frankly to Congress, semi-annually, on the state of our foreign relations.
4. Require him to keep the public as well as Congress more fully informed about our foreign policies.
5. Let the President undertake to educate the people and Congress for their responsibilities and opportunities in a nation which is a world leader.

We Americans have the faith in democracy to believe that if the electorate and their representatives are fully informed about the problem and the responsibility they will rise to the opportunity presented.

RUSSIA AND POSTWAR EUROPE

The question of "The U.S.S.R. and Postwar Europe" grows with the approach of peace. Militarily speaking, Russia will emerge from this war stronger than any other nation of Europe. She promises to be the strongest power on earth. Vera M. Dean, editor of *Foreign Policy Reports*, examined various aspects of the question in the issue for August 15.

The end of the Third International, announced last May, suggests that Russia is now less eager to spread the gospel of communism and more concerned with building international good will, while she carries through to success her national policies at home. In discussing Stalin's desire for international collaboration, Mrs. Dean examines three important conditions upon which such collaboration rests: "the satisfactory settlement of Russia's western border; the possible spread of Communism after the war, with or without Russian support; and the safeguards that the United Nations, acting in concert, may find it possible to erect against the resurgence of Germany."

The problem of the western boundary of Russia is really a complex of problems. Mrs. Dean discusses it in relation to the claims and history of both Russia and the bordering states from Finland to the Black Sea. Shall Russia alone decide what her western boundary shall be? Would such a decision assure peace? Are all the nations really concerned? If they are, can Russia alone make the decision? Would it be best for Great Britain, the United States, and Russia to collaborate on the matter to assure peace and contentment in Europe?

The political chaos of Europe, after the war, will be favorable to experiments with new systems. Communism will doubtless find favor, whether victorious Russia pushes it or not. Pan-Slavism likewise may prosper. Will there be competition, then, between the Russian system and the Anglo-American?

A strong Russia will dampen the traditional German eagerness to expand eastward. Russia's experiences in this war will make her do everything possible to prevent the military resurgence of a new Germany. If the great Allied powers will strengthen Germany's neighbors, their strength will confine the German urge to expand.

Mrs. Dean does not think that Russia is likely to overthrow her economic system. It has been changing. It is now anticapitalistic rather than anti-private property. "This distinction between property for personal use and use of property for profit may be expected to persist in Russia." It is likely, however, that greater political freedom will be won by the Russian people within the soviet system.

Whatever the problems, permanent peace requires that they be handled by the cooperation of the powers and not by the decisions of one or a few. What is done must be in terms of the general welfare and not of the welfare of the strongest only. This kind of international practice is new.

In conclusion Mrs. Dean presented a brief bibliography, with critical comments.

INTERNATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The October issue of *Social Science* is an "Academy of World Economies Number" which presents addresses or digests of addresses delivered before that academy and the National Social Science Honor Society last spring in Washington. Congressmen and others in public life, both in the United States and other countries, publicists, and scholars collaborated.

Six papers discussed general aspects of international reconstruction, including the place of America in the postwar world and the problems of geopolitics, population, international law, and colonies. Seven papers took up regional aspects, particularly Latin America, the Far East, and Europe. The Good Neighbor Policy, the Pan American Union, and the United States foreign trade received special attention.

Such discussions stress how eager men are to assure peace in terms of democratic principles, economic equality of opportunity, and respect for national and cultural accomplishments and differences. Nothing is more important for the successful solution of international problems than constant regard for the common welfare of all peoples. Schemes and plans and experiments suffused with that regard will finally assure the successful solution of the perplexing problems.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations is not dead. Several of its divisions are still active, and its friends hope to see it reconstituted. The issue of the League was

brought under notice of the schools by the selection of the 1943-44 debate question of the National Forensic League: "Should the United States Join in Reconstituting the League of Nations?"

Those interested in the matter will find helpful materials in the August-September number of the *Congressional Digest*. Following a brief statement of the present setting of the subject, descriptions are given of the structure, membership, and covenant of the League of Nations, and a summary of American relations with it is made. The pros and cons of the debate question itself are set forth by congressmen, heads of organizations, and other prominent students of current affairs.

PROSPERITY DESPITE ABUNDANCE

The economic hope of the future may lie in the resolution of a paradox which for years now has mocked us. Stuart Chase suggests how it may be resolved in a series of three articles in *The Nation*, on "Financing America's Future."

In his first article, in the issue of September 4, he described the economy which lies "Behind the Dollars." After a decade of revolution, war, and inflation, Russia, seemingly broke, carried through the tremendous and costly expansion program called the first Five-Year Plan. Hitler took over an apparently bankrupt Germany and launched a great expansion program and carried on a very expensive war. Mussolini's Italy, near economic collapse, survived the financial burdens of the Ethiopian War; and Japan, after several years of costly war, took on the tremendous expense of the greater war after December 7, 1941. Where did these nations get the money?

Apparently, when the need is pressing, money costs become inconsequential while materials and manpower are all important. Floods, earthquakes, wars and other cataclysms seem to put material and men to work producing abundantly, without stress upon costs; unemployment dwindles and prosperity ensues.

It is paradoxical that abundance itself is a blight. People starve in the midst of plenty and business falters. But disasters and waste promote business. Can there not be prosperity with abundance?

Mr. Chase suggests that the difficulty lies in our inability to get the goods away quickly enough from the machines that produce them. The piling up of goods then choke the machines. Total war and other disasters and wastes move the goods fast by destroying much of them. Can they not be moved by means other than such socially costly ones?

The channels for moving the goods are primarily financial. The dams or obstacles in the channels likewise are financial: the "money costs." How can we organize an economy to provide full employment

without using wars and disasters to clear the channels? This question Mr. Chase tries to answer in his later articles.

THE FOUR-YEAR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Leonard V. Koos, now of the University of Chicago, has long been a leader, among other things, in developing new organizations of school units. In the September number of *The School Review* he gave facts and figures which point to "The Superiority of the Four-Year Junior High School." His facts and figures provide comparisons of the work of the three-year and four-year junior high schools.

The 6-3-3 plan, said Professor Koos, demonstrated its superiority over the 8-4 plan. But the evidence now shows that the 6-4-4 plan is better than the 6-3-3. Better organization and administration are possible, better programs of studies, better teaching, better extracurricular activities, better pupil *esprit*. But without the four-year junior college the 6-4-4 plan is tremendously handicapped. Professor Koos, long an advocate of the junior college, believes it has already proved its worth. The 6-4-4 plan, he is convinced, is "the appropriate next step in the evolution of our school system."

THE AMERICAN FAMILY

A score of articles on "The American Family in World War II" made up *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September. The war is having tremendous effects upon the family, especially in Europe and other regions which are the scene of war.

This issue of *The Annals* sketches the background of the family and discusses its changing structures, adjustments, and problems. The concluding article speculates upon "Marriage and the Family After the War." Those who are studying family problems will find much use for these discussions by sociologists and other competent specialists and workers.

FALL SESSION OF THE MIDDLE STATES COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Circumstances have made it necessary to change the original time and place of meeting of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies which is usually held at Thanksgiving. The meeting will be held in New York City at Columbia University. The date is December 28, just before the regional conference of the American Historical Association on December 29-30.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School, George School, Pennsylvania

Caesars of the Wilderness: Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710. By Grace Lee Nute. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943. Pp. xvi, 386. \$4.00.

This dramatic title is quite justified by the material which it introduces: a study of imperialism and adventure, in court and forest, in old world and new. Normally, perhaps, in these days of blurb and ballyhoo, we might not expect to find the story unfolded in terms of thorough and scrupulous scholarship; but such is the case here. This book, based upon exhaustive and conscientious investigation, is a fresh and excellent contribution to our knowledge of a vastly important phase of American and of world history. Much that has been hitherto unknown has been discovered in numerous types of sources, and skilfully collated with knowledge already available.

Des Groseilliers and Radisson, whose very existence was for some time unsuspected and whose backgrounds, work, and personalities have been only

gradually discovered, are here revealed as living seventeenth century careers which are possibly more important, historically, than those of the much better known Joliet or La Salle. A great deal still remains unknown about them, but as the result of Professor Nute's work we can now see them as real men and can estimate their significance in terms of the century's history. Their importance lies in the fact that "they realized that the great fur center of the North American continent lay west and northwest of Lake Superior, and that the easiest route thereto was not by the difficult canoe route through the Great Lakes but on shipboard to Hudson Bay and thence by canoe up either of two rivers, the modern Hayes and the Albany, which empty into it." (p. 73) This idea, and careers devoted to realizing it, constitute the contribution of the two "Caesars." As a consequence of their plans and work, Britain and France became rivals for the control of the Hudson Bay. This conflict, consciously begun in 1682-1683, is one real source of the so-called Second Hundred Years War, ending in the triumph of Britain in two continents.

Des Groseilliers and Radisson were born in France and came to Canada; they settled at Trois Rivières from which they traded and explored with the Indians, principally in the Great Lakes region and beyond, and learned much about fur and access to it. Difficulties at home led them to establish contacts with New England which led them to Old England and the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. For a time, they were back in French service and became figures in the complex intrigues of the Jesuits, Recollets, and court favorites of Louis XIV, but they ultimately returned to the Hudson's Bay Company and helped to make the connection between the Bay and the fur and World Empire. Des Groseilliers wrote nothing—so far as is known, only one document in his writing has been identified—a defect which has been handsomely remedied by Professor Nute's persistent and arduous research. Radisson has written a good deal about himself, from the time when, as a boy captured by Indians, he was "greased and painted" and became a Mohawk, to his later years when he could meet a Colbert, a James II or a Marlborough.

To the scholar this book will be necessary and very useful. To the general reader it will be stiff but tantalizing reading. Thrilling adventure and tense situations develop, only to lead to black-outs. There is no more evidence, and so—there is no sequel, for this is history and not fiction. We do not learn "how it comes out." The intricacy of some of the situations probably necessitates passages which are overloaded with detail, and there are occasional chronological shifts which may lead to some confusion in the reader's thought. A number of interesting old maps illustrate the text but the lack of clarity in their reproduction leaves something to be desired.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD

Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts

This Age of Conflict. By Frank P. Chambers, Christian Phelps Grant and Charles C. Bayley. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943. Pp. xviii, 856.

The underlying thesis of this work is the thesis that the two World Wars, and all the intervening wars, revolutions, and crises, are now realized to be episodes in a single "Age of Conflict," which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course. In regard to arrangement and detail, the authors have adopted the conventional form of a survey of international relations. Countries, states, nations—and men and motives—are the units, so to speak, out of which the greater part of the narrative has been constructed. Little space has been given to the purely domestic affairs of any country unless those domestic affairs

seemed to help build up the picture of its international position and policy.

The authors have produced a book of real distinction which, however, will make distressing reading for the many who have been beguiled into believing in the simple solutions which we are offered on every hand. It is unfortunate that the public likes to take its panaceas at a gulp and has no patience with a lengthy diagnosis of the world's ills. But Chambers and his associates might help to cure those who still have faith in the Aladdin lamp method of solving international disputes. They treat the events of the recent past in terms of their international relations, using them to explain one another, and, to a lesser degree, placing them against the wider and deeper background of the slower moving, more permanent actualities that have been at work in the modern world for generations and perhaps for centuries. The authors are thus at pains to demonstrate that our democratic, liberal and humanitarian ideals are intellectually founded on Christian principles, however secularized these ideals may have become in the recent past, and that they are in danger in part because of their present lack of foundation. But the authors, without softness or sentimentality, also show how badly the democratic countries, including the United States, handled not only their political but their economic problems during the last generation. An almost equal uncertainty and confusion in Soviet and Axis policy is suggested and Hitler's unscrupulous cleverness is not minimized.

Only here and there the authors have departed from their ability to present undistorted facts. For instance, Greece's Ambassador pointed out in *New York Times* (August 22, 1943), in the Balkan War of 1912, Greece did not "robb" (p. 25) Bulgaria of Salonika. After all, the authors admit that Bulgaria was the aggressor in that war. But the minor historical misstatements are very few in this volume which has great and substantial merits. Moreover, on the whole, it is remarkably well written—most of it reads with great interest.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Hofstra College
Hempstead, Long Island

The Other Side of Main Street. By Henry Johnson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. viii, 263. \$2.75.

This is not only the autobiography of a great history teacher, but it is also the story of a nation in transition. Henry Johnson began his career in Sauk Center, Minnesota when it was a frontier town. The autobiography was written while the United States is engaged in a life and death struggle in the Second World War. During all of this period Dr. Johnson has been a keen observer and an active participant

not only in the educational activities, but also in the general life of the various communities of which he has been a member. Whether he was a pupil in a one-room school, a bank clerk in a small town, a reporter in Minneapolis, a student in a European university, or a teacher in a high school, college, or university, he brought to his experiences a philosophy of life which made it possible for him to enjoy fully all such experiences, to stimulate many people, and to make hosts of friends.

This is the story of an outstanding leader in the teaching profession who carried out the precepts which lesser men preach. His experiences extended from the grade school through the high school and state teachers college to Teachers College of Columbia University. Throughout this long and distinguished career he never forgot that teaching "consists of getting what is taught into the direct experiences of pupils." His discussions of teaching and teaching methods are curiously free from the excess baggage of educational verbiage. He was able to dignify the teaching of methods in the face of the skepticism of his colleagues of the regular liberal arts departments of Columbia. He was always able to see educational ideas in their proper perspective. If at times he seems amused at the so-called "frontier thinkers," it is only because he himself was a progressive who needed no novel terms to dignify his inspired teaching.

One might give a long list of reasons why this book should be in every history teacher's library. One only can be mentioned here and that is the concluding chapter—"Balancing Accounts with History Teaching." Here is the confession of faith of a master teacher. Here is sound philosophy for all who are seeking for help in an age of confusion.

WALTER H. MOHR

George School, Pennsylvania

War and Post-War Social Security: The Outlines of an Expanded Program. Wilbur J. Cohen, editor. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. 89. Paper edition, \$1.00.

This breviary of an expanded program for social security is a timely publication written by a group of men whose hearts and thoughts lie close to the meaning of evolutionary democracy. Smith Simpson and Osvald Stein have written on programs and principles; Arthur J. Altmeyer and Wilbur J. Cohen on post-war problems and the future; William Haber and John J. Corson on reorganization of present programs; I. S. Falk and Robert J. Watt on mobilization for internal security; and Clinton S. Golden has contributed ideas on industrial democracy.

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The report of the National Resources Planning Board has borne him out. This group of men have written for the student, the teacher, as well as for the lay reader, basic tenets for a program. They challenge us with: "It is desirable to emphasize that social security is a way of life in a democratic society and that every member of that society must share in that life." They add further that "... we must plan to build a truly national health program so that every person in the nation will be guaranteed the necessary medical services for a happy and healthy life." They suggest "... a basic system of public assistance, a national network of public employment services and similar community services" as essential to social insurance.

Thus, if Great Britain, during her heroic struggles, can find time to undertake an expanded program, there seems adequate reason for the United States to take stock and map a program ahead. In agreement with Donald Nelson the authors believe that "poverty is not inevitable any more." The achievement during the present war economy gives us this assurance and we look forward to "enough of everything to go around." Not that they mean a little less for everybody but more than enough.

The authors present an optimistic note for the future of social planning. We need no longer muddle

through. The ideas and ideals are brought forward to the student and the public for inspection, for debate, for analysis and amendment. The American Council on Public Affairs has made a genuine contribution toward post-war planning in this publication. I commend the editor and the contributors for these briefs.

ELMER A. LISSFELT

Senior High School
Abington, Pennsylvania

Inside Asia. By John Gunther. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. Pp. x, 575. \$1.96.

Students and teachers will find John Gunther's high school edition of *Inside Asia* a valuable book to have in the social studies library. Since the entrance of the United States into the war and Yamamoto's boastful statement that he would dictate terms of peace in the White House, we have become greatly concerned about what is happening in the Pacific; and this up-to-date supplementary text will give the reader an excellent background for interpreting present day events.

The subject matter in this volume is similar to the earlier edition except that events and developments since Pearl Harbor have been included. The author has improved the organization of material by placing it around three main headings: Japan, China, and Southeastern Asia, and India. In the Japanese section a new chapter, "Pearl Harbor and the Pacific," has been added. Part two, dealing with China, has been condensed into fewer chapters with the final one, "Miscellany," including the subheads: the Philippines after Quezon, the Catastrophe at Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, and Thailand. The story of India has been retold in less space and under fewer topic heads. Sir Stafford Cripps's visit to India and the imprisonment of the National Congress leaders, after their clash with Great Britain, have been inserted. The final chapter, "Asia Incomplete," suggests specific trends which will play an important role in the future.

Gunther's approach makes a direct appeal to the teen-age student. His unusual ability to portray personalities and weave historical data—political, social, economic, and geographic—around people is the source of this popularity. He devotes a chapter to each of the important leaders, Hirohito, Chiang Kai Shek, Gandhi, and Nehru, and much additional space to hundreds of lesser lights who have contributed in varying degrees toward Oriental civilization. Some authors might confuse their readers with so many unfamiliar names, but Gunther, through his ingenuity, uses this device to accomplish his objective, namely, to produce a history which is not only instructive but fascinating.

The author has mastered his technique very skill-

fully by using vivid descriptions, striking comparisons, and paradoxical statements. Picture language in China, 51,000,000 untouchables in India, the practice of hara-kiri in Japan, Madame Chiang compared to Mrs. Roosevelt, the Mitsui House to Rothschild, and the distinguished Uykio Ozaki, called "the Elihu Root of Japan," are a few illustrations. Chiang Kai Shek is the symbol of Chinese unity; Hirohito is the wealthiest individual in the world; Gandhi is the invisible leader of the Indian National Congress but not a member of it; Nehru ranks as one of the finest characters in public life today. These and numerous other items make history real and interesting.

The book is recommended also because it is adaptable for high school use. It is a convenient size and has large print. There is a fine list of discussion questions and study aids for each section. It also contains several good maps, a complete index, and a limited bibliography.

LILLIE L. KUNKLE

Sioux Falls, High School
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

Fantastic Interim, by Henry Morton Robinson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943. Pp. x, 341. \$3.50.

In the uneasy interval between Versailles and Pearl Harbor this nation, according to the author, gave itself over to an orgy of reckless and unparalleled escapism and flight from reality. Although admittedly overstressing many of the details of disintegration, he holds firmly to his thesis that "it was a time of sordid scheming and shameful indecision," and supports it with evidence easy to remember from these feverish days. *Fantastic Interim* is a socio-political analysis of bitter, biting indictment that provokes uneasiness as one contemplates the uncannily faithful repetition of events in the present anti-climactic phase of world war.

To Wilson the presidency had meant an Archimedes lever that might have moved the world to an enlightened plane. But the nation elected Harding, whose aim seems to have been to "reward personal friends with offices and serve unabashed the interests of a plutocratic clique." Hoover was "inept, petulant, timid, evasive, pathologically sensitive to criticism and inflexibly stubborn."

The four pillars of the great American dream—private enterprise, popular education, political democracy and religious freedom—revealed at the base of each "ominous and invisible decay." "There were peaks of prosperity and troughs of depression; inequalities of prizes and rewards." Three-fourths of the people were economically insecure; one-half "submerged in ugly poverty." Although spending nearly a billion dollars annually on education we

were not getting our money's worth; there was a great incidence of illiteracy and our educational systems were moth-eaten and irrelevant to life. Democracy was license to exploit others, and in religion the flame of the Holy Ghost was almost extinguished, despite the statistics of church membership.

Our rejection of the League, our ostrich-like isolationist policy and the ensuing fiascos of disarmament, our unswerving devotion to business, and profits in the face of stark depression are all viewed as a part of our neurotic retreat from reality. With employment in the 1930's at an all-time low, with the wheels of production virtually at a standstill, with agriculture saddled by debts and mortgages and droughts and tenancy, with petty vice and big rackets firmly entrenched, it is no wonder that "in 1930 Americans were going crazy more rapidly, and killing themselves more furiously than any people on earth."

Symptoms of the age, the author says, were those pathological provenders of panaceas—Townsend, Coughlin, and Huey Long. Symptoms, too, were the plethora of strikes, with labor on the side lines weakening its cause against capital by factional strife within its own ranks. It was an era of graft and corruption, guilt and sadism, race riots, lynchings, strikes and floggings, and the neurotic masterpiece of the age was prohibition. The end of all this was general collapse, with sixteen millions on relief in 1933. Then came Roosevelt and the New Deal. Although most of his reforms were characterized by "social forethought," yet "it early became apparent that Roosevelt was more concerned with maintaining the profit system than with producing corn, cotton and hogs for use." But he accepted the inevitable relationships with the rest of the world, and later Willkie was too candid to deny that his policy was wise and right.

The sharp prod at Pearl Harbor ruthlessly awakened America from her "dream bed" to realize that "we cannot continue to mumble the old formulas or hearken to oracles that once had the form and force of divinity."

In a gesture of fairness of appraisal the author mentions some assets such as the generosity of foundations, the rise of literacy, the advance of modern medicine, and the improved lot of the "little man."

The chief value of this book lies in its retrospective emphasis and its intriguing metaphoric style. It moves apace, and at no time is the reader bored, even though some may be enraged. While it is not a profound treatise it yet points up the weaknesses and glaring inconsistencies of what we have come to term, all too uncritically, the American way of life.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Nova Scotia: The Land of Cooperators. By Leo R. Ward. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1942. Pp. xiii, 207. \$2.50.

Here is a book which aims to convey a flesh-and-blood picture of an economic movement by, for, and of the plain people. Father Leo R. Ward, himself a professor of philosophy at Notre Dame in Indiana, describes the cooperative movement generated by the little group of adult educators at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia without reciting statistics, abstract logic, or historical explanations.

This Catholic philosopher went to New Brunswick, to Nova Scotia, and to Cape Breton Island, visited from one end to the other in hamlet and in town, traveled with the leaders, and took the time to mingle and chat with the "little men" who are the backbone of the young and vigorous cooperative enterprises. The cardinal principle of this book is "faith in the people." And he has tried to let the people speak by reporting in a sort of free-hand diary how the people lived, how they looked, what they said, and the attitudes towards life he found among them.

He found almost everywhere the basis of the movement in small study groups. In New Brunswick where cooperative business was just beginning, people were already coming together in little clubs of five or ten or twenty to study how they should proceed.

Action began with the credit union. Whether one found a cooperative store, a sawmill, a lobster plant, or a housing co-op, there was a credit union already well established. Through this informal kind of people's bank the local cooperators accumulated under their own control the capital necessary to go into business. The quarters or half-dollars could be added week by week as the group pursued its study, increasing at the same time confidence in their own ability to launch a business enterprise. It gave experience in working together and in the language of accounting—so essential to successful trading.

The business ventures which the people have built on these foundations have followed no uniform pattern. In each place the group has planned an enterprise to fit its particular needs. In one village the fishermen have founded a cooperative to market smelt; in another people have a sawmill to process their logs; in a third they combined to produce and sell handmade rugs. In Louisdale where livelihood had all but vanished, folks found a way to sell timber for pitprops and began to learn farming—grain, potatoes and vegetable gardens. Most common were the people's own stores.

Among the most interesting projects were the eleven houses at Tompkinsville. They had been planned and put together cooperatively by eleven coal miners and their families—modest homes but

much finer than the rented shacks which they and the other miners had always used. These miners then set to work to make gardens and to keep a few chickens and pigs. Other groups were following their example. One study club of miners who anticipated that their veins of coal would soon give out, was determined to buy a tract of land and to try a co-operative farm.

This movement, of course, has leaders; Father Ward draws us pictures of several. But he emphasizes the dependence of the movement for its strength and vitality upon the common people themselves. And its procedure is painstaking, and may be seen from the following formula: "1. Do you or do you not want to be free? 2. You cannot be free unless you are economically free. 3. You cannot be economically free unless you make yourself economically free. 4. You cannot make yourself economically free unless you study. 5. Study what? The economic possibilities of your situation."

"People can learn to free themselves. But they do not then become automatically and forever free. They must continue to free themselves, and to do this they must continue to learn how to do it. Freedom can be had only as the result of discipline of every man over himself, a discipline for and with others."

And, said Father Jimmy Tompkins: "We cannot do anything without books for the ordinary common fellow." Whether this volume can be placed in that category is a matter of doubt. To this reader it seemed to be over-weighted with descriptive details. The details need selection to achieve literary effectiveness. The book does, nevertheless, give an informative picture of the ordinary, common fellows of Nova Scotia. Its readers can hardly escape an accurate understanding of the way a truly cooperative movement actually works.

H. HAINES TURNER

Pendle Hill, Pennsylvania

Your Country and Mine: A Textbook in Democratic Citizenship. By Grace A. Turkington and Phil Conley. Boston: Ginn and Company. 1943. Pp. x, 630. \$1.60.

This volume is one of those appearing because of the demand for revised social studies courses to meet wartime conditions. It has the advantages and disadvantages of being so written.

The theme of its six hundred pages is democracy in the ancient and medieval world, in America, and in the future. Included are numerous incidents from the present day to catch the interest of the student, some worthwhile exercises at the end of each chapter, and a stimulating reading list. The emphasis on hard work and hard thinking as a way of preserving democracy is commendable. Also good are the chap-

ters on taxes and on the duties of government officials.

The book suffers from an attempt to cover a large field. Pupils' impressions in regard to ancient, medieval, and modern man might well be both jumbled and superficial. The attempt to connect all events with the development of democracy is sometimes forced; for example, in the reiteration that Columbus had no interest in the democracy which would later develop in America. Occasional flights of rhetoric are used in discussing the duties of a citizen in a democracy or in referring to the Axis countries as "the powers of darkness."

Your Country and Mine should provide teachers of junior high school and younger senior high school pupils with suggestions for bringing their courses up-to-date.

ELIZABETH MOHR TENNEY

New York City

The World of The Four Freedoms. By Sumner Welles. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. x, 121. \$1.75.

Any statement by Sumner Welles which has a bearing on the foreign policy of the United States, and on the problems of the post-war period challenge the thinking of all thoughtful, concerned American citizens. In this small volume, Mr. Welles has collected a dozen addresses which he delivered from September, 1939 to February, 1943. Although these addresses do not present a systematic exposition of the theme, nor a "blueprint for peace," they do contain many interesting and stimulating ideas and principles.

The recurrent thought throughout these speeches is the absolute need for full cooperation throughout the post-war period among the nations if they are to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace. He also stresses the need of an immediate study of the principles and plans for the reconstruction of those areas and institutions which will be necessary if we are to attain the new world order as set forth in the Atlantic Charter. To add weight to these ideas he propounds this question: "Who can today compare the cost in life or treasure which we might have had to contribute towards the stabilization of world order during its formative years after 1919 with the prospective loss in lives and the lowering of living standards which will result from the supreme struggle in which we are now engaged?" How badly some groups and individuals in America need to rethink their present position on these issues, and in the light of Mr. Welles' statement that we, too, are responsible for the present war: "The people of the United States were offered at the conclusion of the last war the realization of a great vision. They were offered the opportunity of sharing in the assumption

of responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the world by participating in an international organization designed to prevent and to quell the outbreak of war. That opportunity they rejected. . . ." Mr. Welles urges that the United States not refuse the assumption of this responsibility after the war, but he also warns: ". . . we must not undertake to inculcate in all parts of the world our own policies of social and political reform whether the peoples involved so desire or not."

In this volume, too, Mr. Welles has some interesting things to say about the Good Neighbor policy and points to this important principle namely, that if this policy is to be successful we must recognize the equal and complete sovereignty of each nation. He does not go along with some in this country who would restrict our cooperation to those countries which have already become liberal, democratic governments.

If there was one criticism which this reviewer would make it is that the absolute need for a fundamental revision of the thinking and attitudes of most Americans about political and economic questions and international collaboration which is basic to the remodeling or creation of new institutions that will meet the demands of a world which has grown increasingly interdependent is not stressed enough. We cannot make a good world unless we have good individuals. The character of the individuals who compose it is the most potent influence in determining the nature and quality of society. Such a revision of basic attitudes and aims is given some mention, and is implied throughout, but, in the opinion of this reviewer, needs to be pointed out more clearly to most people if the world of the Four Freedoms is to become a reality. Perhaps Mr. Welles felt that the audiences to whom he was talking recognized clearly enough these basic assumptions and did not need to have them enlarged upon in his addresses to them.

The chapter, "The Realization of a Great Vision" should be read or discussed in all classes in American history.

R. H. McF.

War Information and Censorship. By Elmer Davis and Byron Price. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 79. \$1.00.

Herein one finds a clear, readable statement of the problems, procedures, and objectives of wartime information and censorship in America. To the citizen, to the student, and to the teacher, the claims and counter claims of the various warring nations often prove puzzling and confusing. The reports in the newspapers, in magazines, and the reports, prediction and analyses of newscasters and commentators on the radio sometimes help to clarify, sometimes only add to the bewilderment of the reader or listener. Under the conditions of free speech which exist in

this country, this situation can hardly be avoided. Yet a democratic government at war must keep its citizens informed, maintain public morale, and protect its armed forces and production efforts from unwise publicity which would jeopardize if not actually destroy life, plans, and set at naught its efforts to win the war. To do this very important job, the United States government created the Office of War Information with Elmer Davis at the head. It was established by Executive Order 9182 on June 13, 1942, for the purpose of facilitating the development of an informed and intelligent understanding, at home and abroad, of the status and progress of the war effort, and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the government. Thus, the Office of War Information is a war agency, existing solely because of the war, and is to serve to help win the war. Elmer Davis, in the first fifty-five pages of this small book sets forth the aims and the difficulties with which such a body is faced as it performs its all-important tasks.

In the second part of the book, Byron Price, head of the Bureau of Censorship, describes briefly the Executive Order by which the Office of Censorship was established shortly after Pearl Harbor, of the need for such an office, and of the code under which the censors work. He also points to some of the difficulties under which such a group works, the criticisms leveled against it, and the problems which arise in trying to censor the free speech which is one of the precious rights of a free people.

After reading this brief account of these two important governmental agencies, the reviewer came away with a better and more sympathetic understanding of the need for, the workings and the problems and limitations with which they must cope. Elmer Davis especially was unsparing of his criticisms of his and his agency's mistakes; there was no effort to whitewash them at all. Teachers owe it to their pupils to keep them informed with facts about our government and its activities in this great war effort. This small treatise is very useful for this purpose and teachers in secondary schools particularly would do well to put it on their "must" list. The reviewer recommends especially to the serious reading and thoughtful study of teachers the suggestions by Elmer Davis to teachers as found on pages 42-50 inclusive.

R. H. McF.

The International Protection of Wild Life: An Examination of Treaties and other Agreements for the Preservation of Birds and Mammals. By Hayden, Sherman Strong. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942, Pp. 246.

In these days of war, when the major efforts of the most powerful nations are centered on destruction that one of two opposed systems of thought and procedure in government of the individual may prevail,

it is good to realize that consideration may be given also to conservation. While the accomplishments of our present civilization with its spread of the influence of the white race through the world has been through the utilization of natural resources whether of the plant, animal or mineral worlds, bringing complete ecological changes over wide areas, at the same time there has been an attempt to keep limited sections intact that they may be studied and examined now and in the future, both for the practical and for the esthetic good that they may afford.

The present volume is a concise review of accomplishment in international agreement on the conservation of wild life to the beginning of the present war, presented in such form that it is useful from the legal as well as from the scientific aspect. The subject is treated under three main chapter headings, of which first relates to the preservation of natural communities. Major prominence is given to Africa because of its vast herds of game mammals. After presentation of concise data on the effect of development of the country by the white man, and discussion of the methods and results in handling game and commercial hunting there is an analysis of a convention for game protection signed on May 19, 1900, by seven powers. This had little actual effect, and the coming of war in 1914 put it in the discard. In 1931 there was concrete agitation on the subject once more which led to a meeting of representatives of ten powers in London on October 31, 1933. Observers were present from India, the Netherlands and the United States as countries, not having land holdings in Africa, with definite interest in the wild life of that continent. The Convention adopted, embraces proposals for the establishment of parks and reserves, the protection of rarer species, control of trade in elephant ivory, limitation of weapons for hunting, and provision for consideration by the several powers when mutual interests were concerned. The result has been a beginning of protection in territory controlled by Great Britain and Belgium, and to some extent in the holdings that until recently have been dominated by Italy.

A further section outlines in briefer form the newly arranged Convention on Nature Protection and Wild Life Preservation in the Western Hemisphere, drawn at meetings attended by representatives of eighteen of the twenty-one American Republics held in the Pan-American Union in Washington, D.C., on May 13 to 16, 1940, and formally signed on Columbus Day, October 12 of that year. The Convention is now formally in effect as seven countries, including the United States, have already ratified it. This Convention is somewhat similar in form to that of the London Conference of 1933. As a new proposal, the governments agree to arrange laws and regulations to enforce the provisions of the Conven-

tion, and also to promote scientific studies in the fields concerned. The agreement forms a basis for individual action by the various countries as concerns their several problems (a necessary arrangement in view of the great ecological differences found in the vast area covered). The endeavor is to promote Pan-American cooperation in a field of common interest.

The second chapter, on the protection of birds, begins with an account of the pressure of our civilization on American species, and a note on the Lacey Act prohibiting transportation by common carriers of wild animals and birds killed contrary to law. This is followed by an account of the Treaty to protect game and other migratory birds that pass between the United States and Canada, with a résumé of the enabling acts of the two countries which put it in effect in 1918. There is lament that upland game birds are not included, that there is no provision for refuges, and that Newfoundland, Labrador and the French Islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence are not included. Refuges and sanctuaries were the subject of special legislation in the United States in 1929, and by 1937 eighty-five permanent refuges had been arranged. In 1936 a treaty was also concluded with Mexico to cover migratory birds on a broader scale, with provision for refuges, and a ban on the import or export of game mammals.

Protection of birds in Europe has had an uncertain course because of control of the land by numerous nations of divided interest. Concerted action began in 1868 with the plea of farmers and foresters in Germany and Austria-Hungary for protection for useful birds. This brought a declaration of principle in 1875 that was the basis for later discussion in 1895 and 1902. Conventions were adopted but their provisions were only partly enforced, with succeeding conferences to adjust and strengthen them. The last action recorded by the author is a meeting in Vienna in 1937.

Oil pollution through discharge of fuel oil and waste in the sea is a highly serious modern problem, as oil wastes annually destroy uselessly many thousands of aquatic birds. Great Britain enacted a law to control this in 1923, with the United States following in 1924, and other countries later. The final result prior to the war was control in coastal waters, but almost complete lethargy with regard to the high seas, so that results were largely negligible.

The final section treats of the conservation of marine mammals, beginning with the history of the fur seal herds of Bering Sea and their exploitation and protection from the days of Russian exploration to the international convention of 1911. This is followed by an analysis of attempts to control whale fisheries, also a difficult subject because, like the seals, these mammals range widely in the open sea outside territorial waters. A Convention for the Regulation

of Whaling was adopted at Geneva in 1931, followed by a further agreement in 1937 and a Protocol of amendment in 1938.

The principal result has been to provide some protection to the right whale, to young whales and to nursing mothers, with more or less negative values in a closed season and in a closed area, which are said to afford scant relief.

Appendices give the texts of nine of the principal conventions and agreements discussed in the volume, and a ten-page bibliography of references.

The material is presented clearly and with attention to accuracy so that there can be only slight criticism. As minor matters it may be recorded that T. S. Palmer (p. 74) was Assistant Chief of the Biological Survey, not Chief, that the head of the Biological Survey (p. 83) was Chief not Secretary, and that the Convention on Nature Protection in the Western Hemisphere was signed October 12, 1940, not October 13 (p. 177). The author has performed admirable service in bringing together useful materials from widely scattered sources.

A. WETMORE

Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

World Organization: An Annotated Bibliography. By Hans Ruffricht. July, 1943. Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, 8 West 40 Street, New York 18, N.Y. Pp. 16. Free.

This is a useful list of available books, pamphlets, and bibliographies of materials on the subject of world organization. Included is a short directory of agencies concerned with world peace, post-war planning, and other international matters. Brief, descriptive comments accompany all items.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Using the Wealth of the World. By Robert I. Adriance. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943. Pp. xiii, 429. \$1.88.

A textbook in economics for high school students. It is up-to-date, well-illustrated, and the teaching aids for each chapter should prove useful to teachers. The index is quite good.

The Morale of the American Revolutionary Army. By Allen Bowman. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 160. \$2.00.

This very complete study throws a new light on the whole morale situation of the Revolutionary forces. It is thoroughly and carefully documented and contains an excellent index. Valuable for teachers of American history.

Jonathan's Doorstep. By Helen Clark Fernald. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943. Pp. vii, 280. \$2.25.

A novel about an American girl and the problems that American youth have faced and are still facing. Written for ages 12-16.

A Short History of Civilization. By Henry S. Lucas. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943. Pp. ix, 994. \$4.50.

In this volume the political, social, and economic phenomena are subordinated to the general cultural development of our civilization. The illustrations and maps are well-chosen, the quotations of poetry and prose are interesting, and the index and bibliographical materials are extensive.

Enemy Brothers. By Constance Savery. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943. Pp. vi, 313. \$2.50.

An interesting novel by an English author in which a superior people and a people chained by dogma are judged by the children they produce.

Union Rights and Union Duties. By Joel Seidman. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943. Pp. viii, 238. \$2.50.

A clear, far-sighted, timely analysis of the rights and responsibilities of trade unions to union members, to management and to the public. Well-documented and contains an excellent index.

Greece Against the Axis. By Lieutenant Colonel Stanley Casson. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 150. \$2.00.

Herein one finds a graphic story of the heroic resistance of the Greeks to the Axis told by an authority who knows Greece thoroughly. It contains excellent materials by which teachers can enliven and make vivid the study of World War II.

Outlines of the Future. By Henri Bonnet. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1943. Pp. vii, 128. 25 cents.

This study, by the author who wrote two previous studies on the problems and future of the United Nations, is one of the world organizations emerging from the war. It merits the serious perusal of all social studies teachers.

Army Selectee's Handbook. By John R. Craf. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1943. Pp. 79. 56 cents.

In this compact little monograph one finds an excellent source of useful information which should prove helpful to the selectee in the first few weeks in

an army camp in which he faces many new and strange problems.

Joseph Schafer: Student of Agriculture. By the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1943. Pp. vii, 67.

A carefully written account of the valuable and extensive contributions of Dr. Joseph Schafer, for twenty years superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Alien Enemies and Alien Friends in the United States. By Ernest W. Puttkammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. iii, 23. 25 cents.

No. 39 of the Public Policy Pamphlets published by the University of Chicago Press, and carries on their reputation for accurate, timely information.

Canada: Member of the British Commonwealth and Good Neighbor of the United States. By Frederick George Marcham. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1943. Pp. 78. 40 cents.

This is No. 1 of the Cornell Curriculum Series in World History. It is carefully written, interesting and timely. Its list of selected references has been carefully chosen, and teachers will find the list of questions and suggestions for pupil activities helpful.

War: The Causes, Effects, and Control of International Violence. By Carl Friedrich and Ronald B. Edgerton. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. Pp. 83. 30 cents.

Unit No. 11 of the Problems in American Life Series. An excellent resource unit, replete with necessary information, excellent reading suggestions and helpful teaching aids.

Making Our Government Efficient. By Leonard D. White, Maure L. Goldschmidt, Donald M. Castleberry and Edwin R. Carr. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. Pp. 60. 30 cents.

Unit No. 12 in the Problems in American Life Series, and contains much useful material and teaching aids for a unit on Public Administration in the United States.

Population. By Frank Lorimer, Frederick Osborn, and Kenneth J. Rehage. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. Pp. 64. 30 cents.

Unit No. 13 in the Problems in American Life Series and will prove useful to teachers and classes studying the problems and trends of our changing population.

Public Opinion in War and Peace. By Harold D. Lasswell, and Howard Cummings. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. Pp. 68. 30 cents.

Unit No. 14 of the Problems in American Life Series. Like the others, it is a resource unit for teachers and deals with the problem of propaganda and of how Americans make up their minds.

International Organization After the War. By Max Lerner, Edna Lerner, and Herbert J. Abraham. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. Pp. 56. 30 cents.

Unit No. 15 in the Problems in American Life Series and is a fruitful source of ideas, suggestions for materials and teaching aids on the problem of world organization after the war.

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(My commission expires March 23, 1947.)

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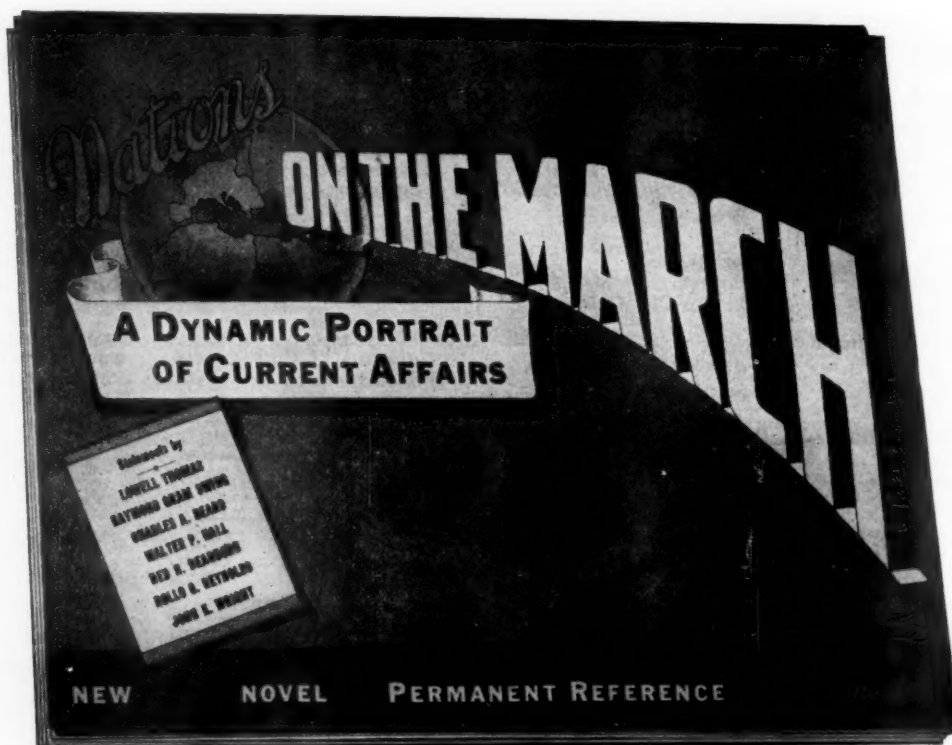
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